Esther M. Alkire

THE NEW AFRICA

DONALD FRASER

Methodist
Historical Society

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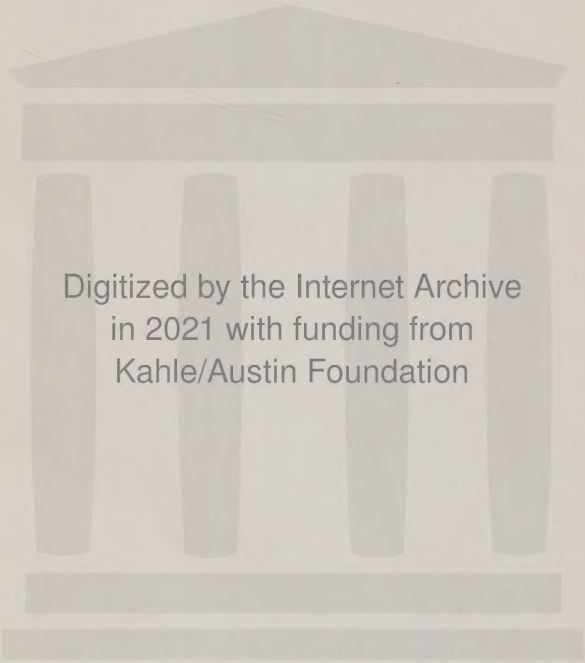
Conference



THE NEW AFRICA

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by

DONALD FRASER

AUTHOR OF

The Future of Africa, Winning a Primitive People, African Idylls, etc.

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TO

THE AFRICANS

WHO HAVE MY HEART

Babali bane, mwa bakutemweka na bakupukwika. Philippians 4:1.

NOTE ON AMERICAN EDITION

For many years the Reverend Donald Fraser, D.D., has been known to the churches of the English-speaking world as an interpreter of Africa and of the progress of the Christian movement throughout that continent. A graduate of Glasgow University and of the Free Church Theological College in Glasgow, he became one of the founders of the Student Christian Movement and has traveled in its interests among the colleges of Britain, the Continent, America, and South Africa. In 1896 he went to Nyasaland as a member of the United Free Church mission in Livingstonia. He remained a member of that mission until 1925, when he was called back to Scotland to become Home Administration Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Free Church. From 1921 to 1923 he carried through the Scottish Churches Missionary Campaign and was honored with the moderatorship of the United Free Church Assembly, 1922-23. In 1925 he toured South Africa in the United Churches Missionary Campaign. He is the author of *The Future of Africa, Winning a Primitive People, African Idylls, Livingstonia,* and *The Autobiography of an African.*

The New Africa was first published in England in 1927 by the United Council for Missionary Education, and has been widely circulated in British churches. For this American edition Dr. Fraser has introduced

a number of new passages relating to American contacts with Africa.

The editors wish to express their appreciation of the generosity of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in making available the plates of the colored map, which makes unusually clear the complicated political structure of Africa today.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

STUDENTS of this little volume will recognize that I have been specially indebted to two volumes, among others. One is Sir Frederick Lugard's great book, *The Dual Mandate,* in which are gathered together the knowledge and experience of a famous administrator, who in his generation has helped Africa far on and always by safe roads. The other book is that fascinating volume, *The Golden Stool,* by Edwin W. Smith, in which many interesting facts are collected and grouped with a rare skill.

DONALD FRASER

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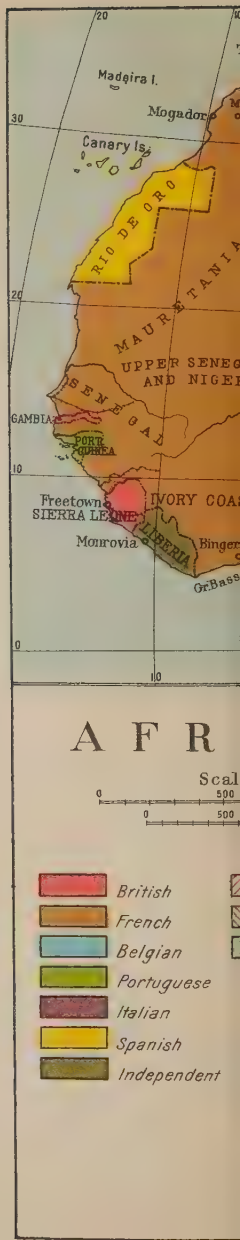
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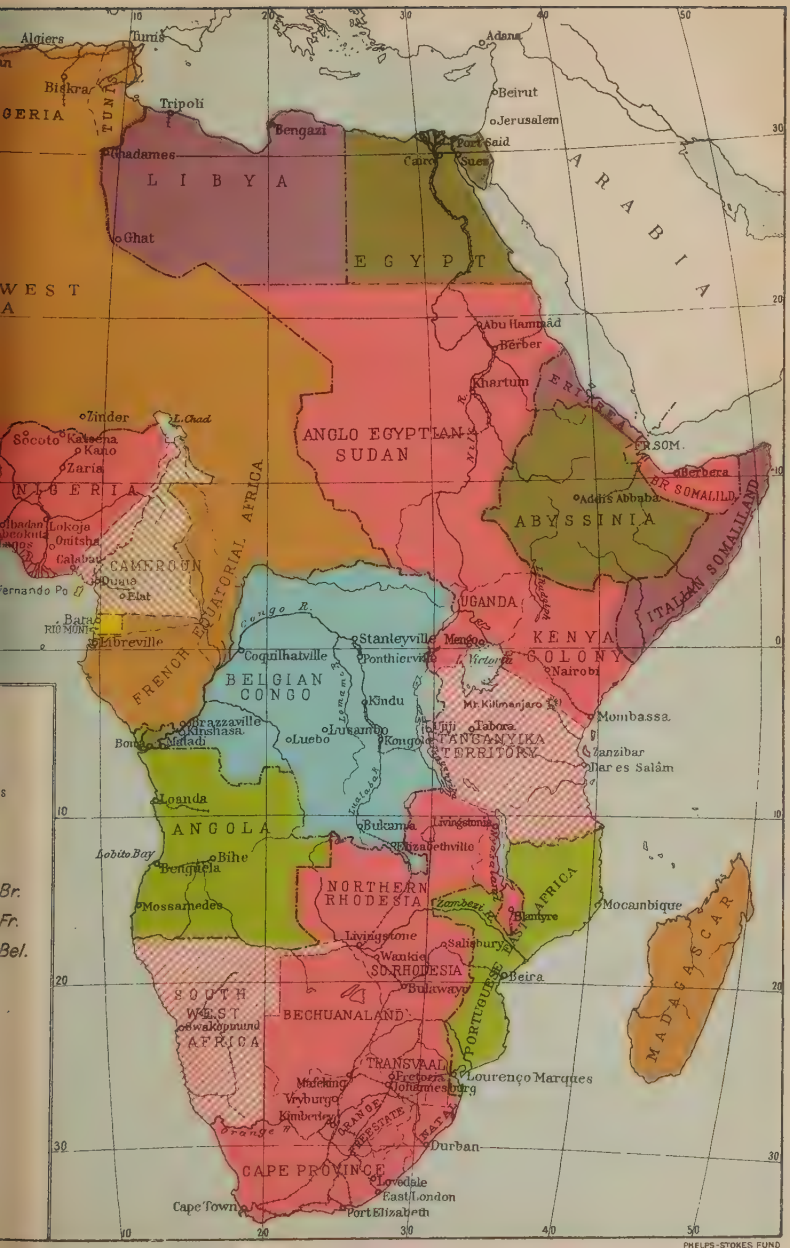

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

CHAPTER I

THE AFRICAN IN HIS SETTING

ONCE when I was on my way home I was accompanied to the docks at Cape Town by one of the local ministers. As we walked along he said that he had asked to meet us there an African lad who was secretary to the Native Industrial Union, and had just brought off a strike peaceably and successfully. To everyone's amazement he had combined members of tribes that were very suspicious of one another, and had obtained better conditions and pay for the workers.

As we rounded the wharf to which the steamer was tied, two handsome young Africans came forward to greet us. One was the secretary of the Native Industrial Union, the other had arrived from Europe, where he had been serving in Flanders. They were immaculately dressed, and, as they lifted their hats and addressed me, my eyes opened in amazement as I recognized that they were both natives of Nyasaland.

While we spoke together my mind flew to the land in Central Africa from which they had come, with its very recent emergence from most primitive conditions, and tried to pierce the future. One thing was plain, that the days of free exploitation of helpless people by slavers or by ruthless foreigners were gone, and that

the present generation is stretching out its hands in new demands undreamed of by the fathers.

These lads whom I had just met represented the product of education, but not of mission schools alone. In school they had received their literary education and their emancipation from their old faith. But since they had left Nyasaland an intensive education had been given them in Flanders and in Cape Town. The things they had seen, the treatment they had received, and the men and women they had met with, had led them a long way, and have led them further still since that day in Cape Town. The Scottish missionary who had taught the Trade Union secretary would possibly have been shocked at the idea of native workmen combining to make demands. But this clever lad had gone on to another school, and other than mission school teachers had been educating him.

For here is the most significant fact presented to us when we look upon the passing of Africa out of its isolation into daily contacts with the West—that the moment the black man meets the white man the black man's education has begun. Daily lessons of vast variety of degree and tendency are being taught, some consciously, many unconsciously, and these are moulding the African of the future.

Commerce has been one of the teachers, for in its necessities and enterprise it has been Africa's greatest pioneering power, and where trade has penetrated, lessons have been taught which have overthrown the old self-contained communism and introduced a new

individualism. European governments, from various motives, some good and some not good, have spread their administration over nine-tenths of the whole continent, disintegrating the ancient tribal structure and reverences, and building afresh. Thousands of white men and women are now living temporarily or permanently among African peoples who a century ago had not seen a white face. They occupy lands that once were claimed by Africans as theirs by right of conquest or of long occupation, introducing our industrialism, which is foreign to their society, and living before their eyes according to standards of conduct which are not the Africans'. Now the supreme task for us is to try to guard and guide these new forces, that they may bless and not curse a people.

This book will seek to find out what are the subtle changes that are coming over the pagan peoples of Africa, and how the influences of the West may be so directed that Africa may find abundant life.

THE YOUTHFULNESS OF AFRICA

It is difficult for us to realize how young the African is. His country has become the familiar land of romance and action. The names of those who have explored it are names of history now. From childhood we have looked on a map which is largely the result of the information they have given us. Our imagination has been kindled by the adventures and high heroism of men whom we have never seen. And our markets are stocked with essential products that have come

from lands our fathers knew not. From every home sons have gone forth to lose their hearts to Africa, and a few to win a competence there. Its problems of government are familiar to us, as are also the open gates to colonization.

A fog of mystery and dread which hung over the continent south of the Sahara for countless ages was penetrated a generation ago by shafts of light. The fog has lifted now and the land is clear so that we can see it. Yet when H. M. Stanley, the American journalist, published his picturesque story of his meeting with Livingstone, who had been lost to sight for four years in the unknown continent, the world was incredulous. For he had made a journey with a rapidity hitherto unknown, among people of whom none others had written, and had talked with and lived with Livingstone, of whom the world had lost trace. At the place where they met then a railway station stands today, and telegraph lines bind it to the whole earth. The time that a wireless message takes to travel from Ujiji to London is but a fraction of a second.

Yet pagan Africa is not old. It is by far the youngest child in all the world's family. This is what makes Africa so supremely interesting to us. Here we may see the childhood of the human race, and we may have a chance of educating a people into abundant life.

From the great seaports of America or Europe the giant liners go forth, driven by steam, and carry their passengers over trackless seas and round the world in luxury and safety. But in Africa you may still cross

the rivers and lakes in primitive dug-outs, in the hollowed tree we call a canoe, or in that most primitive vessel of all, the twisted bark of a giant tree. In New York great steel-framed houses rise for scores of stories into the heavens, fitted with elevators, lighted by electricity, and with all the comfort and convenience that human ingenuity has devised. But in Africa you may find the homeless tribes who have no houses but a cave on the hillside, and you may see the beginning of architecture in the little round mud-built, grass-thatched house which provides some shelter from the elements but not yet light to see. You may find the beginnings of furniture in the single reed mat laid upon the floor for you to sleep on; but no chair or table or box has yet been invented.

You may buy in elaborate stores in the city where you live all the dainties of food and seasonings which delight your palate, and have them with no further trouble than the paying of your money. But in Africa you will find districts where barter is only beginning, and where there is no cash; where each family grows the year's food for its own consumption and harvests and grinds it and cooks it too; where the relish that sweetens the unvarying porridge is gathered from the forest, and where the salt that seasons the food must be strained by each housewife from the mud of the marshes or the ashes of the grasses.

You may see in your own industrial cities great steel foundries where the vast white glowing plate is rolled out, or highly organized factories for mass production

of machinery. But in Africa there stand smelting furnaces, fragile and built of mud, without blast to increase the heat. There the art of smelting iron was first discovered for the human race, and today it is as it was in Tubal-cain's day. In Europe and America science has given the art its present efficiency. In Africa magic is its mainstay and its fetter.

In Europe and America you may walk through gorgeous picture galleries and study the development of art and see its highest manifestations. In Africa you may see painted on the rocks in caves the pictures of the primitive hunter, mere silhouettes of men and animals, but bright in color and vigorous in action.

In the Western university you may sit at the feet of great mathematicians and learn to make elaborate calculations with mystery of sign and figure, which lead you to exact definition of the millionth part of the visible whole. But in Africa men count by their fingers and then by their toes, and when that is finished all further division or multiplication has neither meaning nor definiteness. You may consult your calendar and learn the days of eclipses, and the appearances of comets, and say at what speed light will travel, and where that star's course lies. But in Africa you will find a people who have no clock but the movement of the sun, and no calendar but the phases of the moon; who notch their sticks that they may count the days of their travel. You may see there the beginning of clock-making when your kitchen boy chalks up the shadow

on the wall and marks the meal times, that he may be punctual for his time-enslaved white master.

You may buy in your city elaborate garments for winter and for summer, exactly fitted to your figure, and follow all the intricacies of the fashion of morning and evening wear. But in Africa there are people clothed in nothing but a smile and a mosquito, or elaborately adorned with a feather in their hair or beads about their necks. And you may see the beginning of clothing in a bunch of leaves, or in the skin of an animal caught in the chase, which hangs about their loins, or in the great coarse blanket of bark cloth which they have beaten out with a wooden hammer while it was still wet with the tree's sap.

You may witness a wedding ceremony which is beautiful with flowers and color and Christian ritual. You live in a country where woman's equality with man and her complete freedom are acknowledged by the state. But in Africa there is still the marriage by capture, where the weeping bride is brought before her husband, and for days is watched by groups of maidens lest she make a bolt for freedom. There the marriage bond is the husband's proprietary right over his wife, and the seal that gives it sanction and permanence is the bride-price. There a wife may not eat along with her husband, and a husband may not look on the face of his mother-in-law. You yourself live in a society where bigamy is a crime and where no woman can have a second husband while she is still bound to her first.

But in Africa men increase their social prestige by the multitude of their wives, and women of high standing may be polyandrists.

You live in a country with an elaborate constitution built up by the accumulation of centuries of tradition, where legislative assemblies elected by popular vote make your laws. But in African society the chief may have power of life and death, and be appointed not by popular vote, not even by succession as son of his father, but through the mother's line. You live where individualism reigns, where every man may fight for his own hand and gather goods by his own cunning. But in Africa there is the simplest communism, where the village through its head owns all property, and no man may prosper and be richer than his neighbor except under suspicion of wizardry or of anti-social selfishness, which is crime.

You call your home your castle, within whose doors none have right to enter save by your invitation, where the family is nourished and cherished in an atmosphere which it makes for itself. But in Africa the unit of society may be the village, where all the children live together, and where uncles and aunts claim equal rights with their parents to the young; where there is no privacy, and the educating atmosphere is the atmosphere of the village community.

You worship God in stately churches, with services memorable for order and historic tradition, and with emotions created by harmony and beauty. But in Africa worship may express itself around the hideous

juju, detestably ugly and cruel, the magical terror of which controls the people, or the little temple no bigger than a doll's house, built but of sticks and mud, where rags and pots of beer are set as offerings to the spirits of the dead that may come there. You seek God in Jesus Christ, and find him who is Savior and Lord. But in Africa he who is named Creator is now an absentee God, and the world is full of spirits who seek the good and the evil of men, while magic is the strong judge and punisher.

There in Africa you may see the genesis of all the skill and ambition of the human race. There you may see what your own race was centuries ago before it took its long strides forward.

Why disturb this childhood of a people? It is so much simpler and in some ways so much more attractive than our intricate civilization. Who is disturbing it? Africa has come to school, and all the West is its teacher. In things material it is growing beyond all computation. A century ago its trade with the West was reckoned at about a hundred and fifty million dollars; today it is about three billions. Fifty years ago there were a thousand miles of railway, today there are thirty thousand miles. Out of Africa's riches we are gathering gold, diamonds, oils, coffee, cotton, minerals of many kinds. Fifty years ago the African hunted his game over vast territory that he did not cultivate, where today thousands of acres of economic crops are grown by Europeans. Fifty years ago the strong hand of the chief and the power of his spear or

the terror of magic ruled society, where today European officers administer justice and suppress barbaric practices. Out of the West have come the educators, and to them the Africans are responding, some consciously, some unconsciously. The childhood of Africa is beginning to pass away.

WHY AFRICA HAS NOT GROWN UP

We would not see in Africa the tragedy of material wealth growing and increasing while the mind remains like that of a babe: the sun still hidden behind the hills, the dawn never breaking into day. There is shame enough in the world's history of peoples found by the West before the West had learned that she was but a trustee of the foundling. In cruelty or in thoughtlessness she trampled the nations she had found, till today they are maimed, impoverished or dead. We would not have that happen again. Where there was wrong done we would undo it, and where there is opportunity to help we would use it, that the child may become a man.

Now how has it happened that Africa has not grown, while all the world has been moving on to ever fuller attainments?

I expect that the simplest answer is in one word, isolation. For this great continent has been cut off from all the stimulus of contact with other lands by the great barriers that have shut her in. Phœnicians, Romans, Vandals, and last the great Arab invasion of the seventh century spreading from Egypt to the

Atlantic, changed the customs and arts and languages of North Africa. But between these streams of influence and the south there stretched the great Sahara, in whose deserts the waters were lost. The Nile valley was the home of a great civilization long before the Christian era. Asia and Europe helped to mold and change it. But the arid deserts to the south stopped its spread. Abyssinia made some progress, because by her neighborhood to the Red Sea she met with other races and received their stimulus. Caravans of Arab traders and some few warlike tribes from the Nile valley passed west and brought some culture with them, and therefore the Hausas and races like them evidence a slightly advanced culture. But down through the heart of the continent to the Cape and away west to the Guinea coast you find a people with the customs and faith of the prehistoric centuries.

Strengthening the power of this isolation there were the diseases of Africa, which sucked the initiative and energy from the few stragglers who crossed the barriers. And there was a wide land giving all that was necessary for existence without struggle, and allowing each tribe and clan to live its own independent and self-supporting life. Conquest, trade, stern necessity, buoyant health, were all lacking to stimulate a people to greater effort.

The mighty rivers that carry the waters of the continent to the sea are effectually closed as open highways. Their mouths are barred by shifting banks of sand, and the plateau formation of the continent causes

cataracts further inland that hinder continuous progress from the sea. Thus as you approach the mouth of the Zambezi, from the deck of the great mail steamer you can see nothing but a low line of trees rising apparently out of the sea. Yet there lies the edge of the continent of Africa. You are let down in a basket to the deck of a little steamer, and the great mail boat steams off when high tide has come. You sail by tortuous channels known to the pilot, until you see before you great breakers which seem to forbid further progress. There lies the river bar. You cross it with trepidation, the officers fearing that a bump on the sand may be an incident of the crossing, and at length sail into the quieter Chinde mouth of the river. But whether you sail west on the Zambezi or north on the Shiré, your voyage after a certain time will be interrupted by cataracts.

Africa has but a narrow fringe of coast-line before the land begins to rise, and then it ascends in a series of increasing elevations. If you would picture the formation of the continent, think of four main divisions. First, the coast plains, never running far in except along the courses of some of the rivers. Then the Atlas Mountains in the north, separated from the rest of the continent by the Sahara, part of which in the northern area is lower than sea-level. This vast desert is of slight elevation, though with a few considerable peaks. It was not always arid land, for it is marked still by old water channels. Then the high southern and eastern plateaus, rarely lower than two thousand

feet, with a mean elevation of thirty-five hundred feet above sea-level. And last the plains of the west and north, traversed by bands of higher ground and seldom falling lower than two thousand feet.

Here one comes to another feature of this continent: the irrigation and water supply are constantly changing. The Saraha has had its streams; the Congo basin was once a great lake. Today we may see the process going on. Lake Bangweolo is not half the size it was when Livingstone first saw it. Ngami, which he discovered, has almost disappeared. The great rivers which flow into it, and which seem to have intersected the Zambezi, are now dry in parts, with the great canoes that once sailed on them still lying in the dry channels. When I went into Nyasaland first I sailed on the upper Shiré River in a stern-wheel steamer, and across the wide, shallow Lake Pamalombe. A few years ago I crossed that river again and saw maize cultivated on the bed of what was once a navigable river, and villages built and banana groves planted where Lake Pamalombe once was.

Snow falls on the highest peaks even at the equator, and in South Africa in winter time the higher mountain ranges are white with snow. I have seen photographs of Johannesburg covered with snow, but the elevation of that city is very high, reaching almost to six thousand feet. On the coast-line and along the river plains heat at its fiercest will be experienced. From the Indian Ocean the monsoon blows over eastern Africa, and in the north a wind out of the Sahara,

called the sirocco or the *harmattan*. This wind, though very dry, is not always hot.

The tropical zone of Africa is as a whole the most unhealthy part of the world, especially in the lower and moister parts of the coast. That fact, more than any physical barrier, has shut the continent against the approach of Westerners and of Asiatics alike. The horror of the death-rate of Europeans gave the West Coast the name of the White Man's Grave. But on the higher plateau in the east and center white settlement has not been impossible, while South and North Africa have become health resorts where delicate white men may find greater vigor than they can in Europe or America. Since the discovery in 1899 of the type of mosquito which carries malaria, the health conditions of the continent have immensely improved. Even on the West Coast the terrors of the climate have been largely removed. Yet for the white man frequent furloughs out of the country are necessary. Mr. Alec Fraser remarks significantly that on the ships going home from the West Coast the Europeans play no games. A year and a half's residence there has sucked vitality from them.

With the difference in elevation and rainfall the vegetation of Africa varies greatly. Along the coastlines you see the great mangrove forests which grow in damp soil. Then in the regions of heavy rainfall and on the humid slopes of the mountains you see the great forests, with enormous trees all interlaced and interwoven by hanging lianas and vines. On the higher

plateaus the land is entirely covered with trees of no great size, and on the wide savannas grass grows to vast height. When you come to arid regions the trees give way to acacia scrub or heath. And in the vast veld of South Africa you see endless reaches of open land with not a tree in sight, and the landscape broken by rocky kopjes and table mountains. In the tree land of the upper plateaus the spring colors take the place of autumn colors at home. For the new foliage bursts just when the sun is hottest, and brilliant crimsons and browns give to the tender leaves protective coloring from its withering heat.

THE PEOPLE

Now, intensely interesting as many of the geological, botanical, zoological and other features of Africa may be, the most interesting concern to us and to the world is the African himself. There was a time when Europe would certainly have said so, for her greatest exporting commodity was the slave man of Africa. But then her measure of his value was in terms of merchandise. Today it may be that greater efforts are concentrated on the mineral and agricultural products of the country, and that these have monopolized the attention and enterprise of the white man. But, after all, the wealth of Africa is not in her minerals or oils or cotton but in the humanity that lives within the continent; and the future lies more in how its people are developed than in its material resources. For the greatest asset of Africa is man.

Who are the Africans, and whence did they come? I doubt if the second question will ever be answered. The answer to the first is only gradually being discovered. Every year sees new great volumes being published by those who have lived in Africa, and who by careful study have acquired that knowledge of its languages which has opened gates to a world of untold wealth and entrancing interest. Africa has no literature and no monuments which give us a key to the past. It is true that in South Africa marvelous buildings, as at Zimbabwe, have revealed a civilization once regnant which has now disappeared completely; but what is told in these archæological remains is still a mystery which none have read with certainty. Tradition gives little knowledge of the past, for the African is a creature of the present, and all the stories he tells only go back with halting steps a few generations. Now and then you find a member of some princely family who recalls a roll of ancestors that seems to go back for hundreds of years. But there is little tangible history in this list of names. For most tribes the stories pass rapidly into myths. But still the dead are buried with their faces towards the land from which the fathers are said to have come.

Within the continent there are few barriers that might keep people apart. The tribes have freely mixed with one another, and here more than in any other continent one race merges into another, so that you will find a greater number of "transitional" people in Africa than in any other continent. It would be tiresome to

try to enumerate the various tribal types that inhabit Africa, and the names one might give would only lead to confusion. For, after all, the distinctions arise more from differences in language than from differences in race.

Roughly, we may divide the races into three great groups. There are the Bushmen, a dwarfish race of yellow-colored nomads living in South Africa's arid regions, traces of whose origin may be found as far north as Tanganyika and possibly farther. With them we might associate the Hottentots, a medium-sized, yellowish-brown, pastoral people who came into the south and mingled somewhat with the Bushmen. Then there are the Negro races, strong black folk who are found chiefly in upper Central and West Africa, so strangely differing in language that sometimes one group of villages cannot understand the language of the next group who neighbor them. And then there are the great Bantu folk, stretching through the Congo region and through East and Central to South Africa. Allied to them by some kinship of the past are the Semites and the Libyans.

There are other groups, which have closer affinity with Asia, but the Bushmen may be counted as the original inhabitants of Africa, and the Negroes as the truest type of the pure African. For the Bantu came pressing down from the north from among the Libyans, and spread west and south, coming into contact with the Indians and Semites on the east and being influenced by them. But away to the west, cut off from

communication with other folk, lived the Negroes, maintaining their own faith and customs.

If other races had little influence in shaping the culture of the Africans, climate and geography were the constant molders of their destinies. In the regions where the rainfall is slight, you find the hunting folk, without permanent abode. The wide savannas give opportunity for cattle, and there you find the pastoral people whose habitat is again limited by the belts of tsetse fly that will not allow domestic animals to live there. In the parts where the rainfall is heavier, and in the forest regions, you find the agriculturists who till the soil, where it can be tilled.

These conditions of climate, again, have modified the social structure of the people. Where the land is barren and will not bear a population, you find the scattered folk for whom the family is the unit. Then as they gather in larger numbers into villages, the little community, with the tribal head-man, becomes the unit. And when you come to the wider spaces, where communication between people is more possible, you find the nations and empires with more elaborated organization.

Try to see the African as he is before Europe and Asia have modified his social constitution and his habits of life. If you drop into a primitive West African village you will see there some differences from and many resemblances to the Central and East African villages, for again I say these are all transitional folk influenced by the contacts which have been possible within the

continent, and the distinctions must not be pushed too far. In West Africa the people's faces and bodies are marked by great tattooed lines and ugly cicatrices. Their teeth are filed. Cannibalism is known among them. Their food is yam and manioc, both introduced into Africa from America. Their clothing is the bark-cloth; their shields are made of wood or wickerwork; their bows have strings of cane. Secret societies and strong jujus terrorize and control social life. Masks, anthropomorphic figures, wooden gongs are seen. And the people are all agriculturists.

In East and Central Africa the bodies and faces of the people are not so marked by scarring as in the West; yet nearly all clans have their tribal cicatrice. The clothes they wear are dressed skins and bark-cloth. Their bows have sinews for the strings. You will not see their juju, and possibly will not find the secret society. Ordeals control social morality, and ancestral worship, arising out of reverence for the chiefs and heads of families, dominates their faith. Herds of cattle are their chief possession, milk and maize or millet their common daily diet.

As you go farther south you will find further distinctions. The cicatrices disappear and the filed teeth. Circumcision and more elaborated ancestral worship and religious rites take place. The bow has gone and the spear takes its place. Bark-cloth has given place to elaborately dressed hides. The village has scattered into separated houses, and the family is the unit of the community.

As you enter the village, whether in West or East Africa, you are struck with the uniformity of everything. Every house is alike, and every barn. The pots and mats show no variety. You can tell where the head-man's house is at once, and where his wives' houses are. The hoes have the same length of handle and the same angle for the iron blade. For you have come to a people who think and act as a community, for whom custom has minutely detailed each habit of life, and to whom individualism is a social crime. Here is the first snag white men come up against. Each man and woman will only act with the group. Until some strong personality is willing to initiate some new practice nothing new can happen, and then the whole group follows the leader.

Over all sits the head-man, representative of the village. What he says reflects what the village would say. His judgments are accepted because they voice the common thought. He even bears the sins of his community. If one member outrages the laws of another village, the head-man pays the fine and carries the disgrace. When young men go forth to the mines and send or bring their treasures home, he shares their wealth. He never goes forth to work, yet he never lacks cloth or money to pay for his necessities. When some impoverished citizen cannot pay his hut tax he pays it for him. The cattle in the kraal are nearly all his; the very manure cannot be used except as he apportions it. In him the village expresses its united life. Should he become a Christian the whole community

will probably follow. If he holds out in opposition, it is hard for any man or woman to act differently from the "father." "I will follow my chief, even to hell itself," is the common creed of the villager. He holds the lands that the people cultivate. Not that the lands are his to buy or sell or alienate to the stranger: they are the community's and he stands as its representative.

How self-contained the village is! The white man thinks the African lazy because he will not go out to work for the stranger. But see how he works for himself and for his own people. This man wants to build a house. He need not pay others to erect it for him, though he does now, in the new individualism we have introduced. But where the old loyalties hold he goes forth with others to cut the poles. The women trample the mud in companies, and as the house grows a dozen men are digging the foundations, tying the poles, thatching the roof, and a dozen women are plastering the walls and beating the mud floor. They will receive no pay, but when they require a like service they too will receive it from the others. The gardens in the planting and weeding seasons ring with the shouts of companies of hoers. The people do not cultivate alone but in bands, that freely partake of the beer the owner of the garden has provided. Today all together they cover this field; tomorrow, the field of another of their society.

By this wonderful loyalty to one another the society is maintained. One day Bishop Key handed Father Callaway a letter from a friend in England offering to

establish an orphanage for native orphans in his diocese (St. John's, Kaffraria). The Bishop smiled as he gave over the letter and said, "Where are the orphans? The natives have none." To the native mind a child for whom no one cared, who had none who would call himself "father," would be a condemnation of their society. No household starves because its barns are empty while others have grain in theirs. The men sit round a common dish at the kraal gate and eat as one family. The women help one another to pound the maize, and go in groups to the village well.

Yet there are special occupations and arts that run in families. Here is the blacksmith who was taught by his father to smelt and to hammer out the hoe and ax. There are many willing helpers to blow his bellows and assist him by watching while he makes the sparks fly. His furnace is as it was in the days of unnumbered ancestors. His tongs are but a piece of folded bark which blazes with the hot iron; no necessity has taught him to improve his implements. But the work he does will be paid for; it may be with a little food or a fowl or some other article of barter. There are also the pot-makers who know how to mold and turn the clay and burn the pot to hardness. They too will sell their products for a trifle.

Within this little community all that life demands can be produced. The fields the people hoe can feed the village for the year. The game they kill in the forest will be shared by all alike. The houses to give them shelter are built from the wood and from the clay

which are common property. The bark-cloth blankets are hammered out from the trees they have marked, and the skins are dressed from the cattle or the game they have killed. The mat for sleeping on is woven from the reeds of the river, and the string that binds them is twisted from the inner bark of the trees. There is no need for other people to sell to them the comforts and necessities of life. Together as a family they can provide all.

Their very morality is buttressed by the essential unity of their community. Some disease that has smitten them has come because someone has sinned. The ordeals of poison or of the boiling pot must discover who is the culprit. And when he is found and punished, the village is healed. A thief is anti-social. He does not recognize the rights of others and the harmonies of society. So he is cast forth. An adulterer has broken the most sacred of loyalties, and he must go.

So they have lived, social loyalties and a common purse making life run evenly and with few anxieties. But today the rushing, selfish, industrial life of the West has burst upon them, changing all. Our civilization in its impatience cannot bear this uniform and communal life. It demands individualism. Industry involves the breaking up of village life and of the practice of service for the common good, and bases itself on the premise that skill and energy can only be called forth when rewards are given to a man that he may keep them as his own carefully guarded wealth. New comforts and luxuries are sought which cannot

be produced in a primitive society. New obligations arise, such as hut taxes which must be paid with money —and that money must be earned. And so the old order changes, and a new order is thrust upon Africa for good or for evil.

The levees which time and custom have built to restrain the run of life are bursting before the gathering floods of civilization, and our business is to see that the people who have planted and built beneath the shelter of these banks are not overwhelmed. Stronger and higher restraints and guiding levees, and deepening of the channels, too, are necessary to meet these new forces, that the waters, like a swollen Mississippi, may not overflow and the life of Africa be submerged. Nothing can hold back the flood of Western life which gathers from so many tributaries. Our business is to be the engineers of a safe and prosperous future for Africa.

CHAPTER II

THE FAITHS OF AFRICA

When St. Paul was in Athens, a lonely Christian in the midst of a very religious people, "his spirit was stirred in him" as he moved among the beautful temples and idols. The artist, too, might wander there, stirred by the finest examples of architecture and sculpture, the expressions of a high religious devotion. But the passion that awoke in Paul arose from the knowledge that he had the secret which could open up to seekers the satisfying life. Yet it is evident from his first words that there was no scorning of the faith of the Greeks, and no hiatus between the things he believed and the things they sought. "I perceive," he said, "that ye are very religious. . . . Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." Not another God, but the unknown God whom they sought in the gropings of their hearts.

Today the tourist may sit through the long moonlit night and bathe his soul in the mystic beauties of the Taj Mahal, or walk through the sacred city of Benares and hear the beat of the bare feet of men "marking the rhythm of pilgrimage," and recognize that here is a people who seek God, and union with him. But in Africa he will find neither temple nor image nor holy man to give him sight of a people's sense of God.

Like many another, he may speak spaciously of the hoary religions of the East, sacred and dear to the hearts of the people, but of Africa he speaks as a land without God and overwhelmed by the terror of devils. Some passionate believers in Christ may even resent our investigation into the faiths of other peoples, and any effort to link their seekings to the revelation of God in Christ.

Yet when the hidden beliefs of the African take form in the mist that enshrouds them, the sympathetic missionary finds that here, too, God has not left himself without a witness, and "that which may be known of God is manifest in them." The deeper our knowledge becomes, the more we are convinced that Africa has a religion very sacred to her, and that here is a people deeply and essentially religious, whose faith is woven into the full pattern of their life, appearing everywhere, and giving color and tone to the web. This discovery with all its interest will not make less insistent the call for Africa's evangelization. It will stir the spirit of the man who knows and values Christ, and will give that sympathetic understanding which makes it possible to reveal in Christ the God whom Africa ignorantly seeks. There is a proverb of the Bulu, "You walk in the tangled gloom, not knowing the clearing is just before you." To those who wander in a maze of half-truths and falsehoods, and in the dark shadow of nature religion, we would reveal the clearing which Jesus Christ has made, where the full noon light is shining.

BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY

In one's eagerness to know what Africa believes, one may sit down and question wise men and fail to get any answer more illuminative than "We know nothing." For there is no "systematic theology" in animism. But let the missionary keep his eyes open, and every day he will begin to see things that are full of significance, and by and by he will find himself piecing together elements of a faith that no longer seems incoherent.

One day when I was traveling hundreds of miles away from my station a carrier came to me to say that he must go home at once. I asked him in surprise what had disturbed him into taking this sudden decision, and he told me that in the night one had appeared to him summoning him to the death-bed of his little son. When I asked whether the boy had been ill when he left home he replied, "No, he was perfectly well." It took a long argument to convince him that the dream might have no relation to reality, and though he stayed with me it was with great misgiving, which was only dissolved when he arrived back in his village and found that all had been well.

What the African sees in visions of the night is as real to him as what he sees in the wakeful daylight, so when the dreams bring him into touch with the dead and they appear to him and speak with him, he knows with a great certainty that the dead are not extinct, but that the spirits live though the body has decayed. Now and then unusual returns to life of those who

were deemed to be dead have startled a community. All signs of bodily decay were there, yet the spirit returned. Instances are known of natives who seemed to have died, and were being carried forth to burial, when some movement terrified the bearers, causing them to recognize that life was not extinct. On recovery the sick man told of wonderful journeys he had made into the spirit world and of the things he had seen. One such returned soul spoke with tremendous conviction of a beautiful town he had entered, where men and women walked about in shining white garments, and where someone had told him to return to earth and tell the people to give up polygamy and listen to the missionaries' message. For weeks he wandered over the land giving his message, and no word was ever spoken with more authority, or carried greater results, than this message of the man who had been "dead" and was alive again.

Now one begins to understand why those little huts are erected near a grave and offerings are made there. For the African does not think that the decay of the body is the end of all things. He knows that the spirit has escaped from its temple and is still alive, and demands that it be not forgotten. Sir James Frazer in his Gifford lectures declares that belief in immortality is the most firmly established faith in the world.

The Hottentot saw in the dying and renewed moon a great symbol of the awakening of man after death, and from this natural phenomenon came his stories which explained death. Others saw strong evidence of

the survival of personality in the strange likeness of children to their parents and grandparents. In this transmission of family features they recognized the dead expressing themselves again in the living, and they gained confidence in the good intention of the spirit of the dead, so long as he was embodied again in one of themselves.

Death has not seemed to the African a natural and necessary end of life. By many interesting stories Africa has tried to explain how this calamity came. Usually it was by the distortion of a message from man to God, or from God to man. Thus the chameleon was sent by God to men, according to the Bantu, to tell them that they should live forever. But the chameleon loitered, as its way is, and climbed the trees for flies and fruit. Meanwhile God changed his mind and sent the swift-running lizard to say that men must die. The lizard outran the chameleon and delivered the message of death. Leisurely continuing on its way the chameleon arrived long after the messenger of death, but none would believe him, for the first message of death was spoken, and so death is in the world. The Akomba tell how the sceptical thrush drowned the message of the chameleon when he came with the word of life. In Togoland it is the frog who distorts the message that the dog was sent to carry to God, asking that men should live forever. And among the Ashanti the sheep thwarts the message that the goat should have delivered.

All stories seem to point to the natural order of

things being life forever, till some accident befell the human race and then death came. Among the Hos, a tribe of Ewe-speaking people in West Africa, death is personified as a great hunter out slaying in the forests. It is by accident that he meets a group of women making for the village well, and shoots his arrows among them so that they fall dead. Then he discovers that he need not go into the dark forests any longer to hunt; there is game enough among men and women.

Now it is this belief that death is an accident and not the natural course of events that leads the African to seek magical causes for death. In the Congo region and West Africa death is either the result of the magical influence of some evilly disposed person (sorcerer), or of unexplained causes. As soon as death has come the witch-doctor is summoned, and he proceeds to dissect the corpse and examine the organs, that he may determine whether some sorcerer has been at work. Others can see no cause of death but the evil work of a sorcerer. Even death from drowning or from other accident is the result of magic, for death is an interference with the ordinary course of nature. So the Kagoro of north Nigeria explain that in sleep a man's soul wanders forth, and may be caught, detained, and beaten by an evil wisher. To them all sickness and all death are the result of black magic, and the Kagoro represent a great body of African thought.

Fear and self-preservation compelled the African to take strong measures to discover the enemy who brought calamity, and what greater calamity than

death is there? The safety of each depended on his warding off death from his neighbors and village. So the witch-doctor was called in, that by means of magic ordeals and especially through the poison bean he might discover the sorcerer who had caused death to visit the village. Dr. Nassau calculated that for everyone who died a natural death, at least one other, sometimes two others, died through accusation of sorcery. And Mr. Goldie, one of the pioneer missionaries in Calabar, Nigeria, told how one small tribe was gradually being swept off the face of the earth by those poison ordeals. On one occasion the whole tribe took the ordeal to prove themselves innocent of a death that had occurred, and half the tribe died. Perhaps it should be explained that, according to the belief of the people, the magical powers of the ordeal are so great that the innocent vomit the poison and only the guilty die. People need no compulsion; they drink voluntarily, for the innocent are convinced that it will not harm them; only a guilty man would fear to drink.

Among the more advanced Bantu, action may not necessarily be taken after the death of the common citizen, but I have never known a chief to die without accusations of sorcery flying wildly around. His life is the most precious possession of the people, and magic is his guardian. The awful pandemonium of wailing which thrills the spectator is not the expression of grief only, but also the protestation of terror. I have seen a suspected man step into the kraal, where the tribe was seated waiting for the burial of his chief, and rais-

ing his shield above his head wail for his dead "father" with an awful poignancy. But what struck me as the most pathetic feature of his act was that he stood there alone, not with the usual company in which men pay their tribute, conscious that thousands were looking on him with black suspicion, and his cry was a cry for life, a plea that he was guiltless and shared their sorrow with them.

SPIRIT WORSHIP

For years the missionaries had been urging the petty chiefs and head-men to appoint a paramount chief, successor to the late ruler, for the tribe was getting out of hand and lawlessness was rife. At length personal rivalries had been overcome and a chief elected. Then came the great day of the crowning, which found its climax in the sacrifice of an ox and in prayer led by the senior representative chief. He had a Christian teacher in his village, and had learned a little of the truth taught. But his prayer was a strange blending of the old and new. He called on the spirit of the great chief to guide the destinies of his young successor, and on God to bless the teachers who instructed them in his word.

Then he revealed two of the great articles of the African faith, belief in the Creator God and a stronger belief in the survival of the dead and of human personality—beliefs that are nevertheless different from the Christian faith in immortality, as is witnessed by the fact that the founder of the clan or tribe often

attains to deity. Some of the names for God among the Africans seem to refer back to the first known father of the people. The Zulu name *Nkulunkulu* (the great great one) is probably the name given to the first of their race.

The world is peopled with the spirits of those who have gone from it. These are not always benevolent. They seem to have a strange propensity for mischievous and petulant acts, for it is not the goodness of life that arrests men so much as the misfortunes. When a plentiful harvest comes, or some great fortune, they praise the spirit that has brought these gifts. But far more frequent and startling are the evils of sickness, drought, and wild beasts that bring calamity. One of my lads met a lion on the path. He did not attempt to run away or to fight, but he began to call on the dead and to promise them gifts. He did not know which spirit of the dead was in the lion, so he called the names of grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles and aunts who had gone, hoping that he might hit upon the right one.

Great care is taken to propitiate and please the dead that they may think kindly of and act benevolently towards the living. But a man or woman has no concern with the spirits of those outside his own family. They do not interfere with his life. A husband does not even pray for his wife. She must pray to her own ancestors who belong to a different clan from that of the husband.

The life of the spirits in the underworld is so like the one they lived on earth that the mourners make

provision for all their needs. The chiefs must have servants to wait on them, so slaves used to be killed at the grave's mouth and laid beside their master, that he might not lack willing help in the land to which he went. In the bad old days a group of slaves was brought to the edge of a grave near Lake Nyasa, there to be clubbed and thrown into the pit with the dead master. One young girl was brought forward, but just before the executioner raised his club the fine dry dust entered her nostrils and she sneezed violently. Immediately the presiding medicine-man stepped forward and liberated her. The spirits had proved by that sneeze that they did not want her company, and she was brought back again to her serfdom. Years afterwards she found life forevermore in Jesus Christ, a soul twice redeemed.

The very furniture of the dead is buried with them. I have watched the mourners bring in long procession bed, clothes, musical instruments, pots, mats, spears, and all that the dead chief used. These were hacked to pieces and laid in the deep tunnel of the grave with him. Their material form was destroyed like his body, but the spirit of all was there to serve him in the spirit world. At the grave, pots of beer and strips of calico were placed. Among the Chewa of Nyasaland a hollow reed was led up from the mouth of the dead to the top of the grave, and beer would occasionally be poured down this primitive tube, that the dead might drink. In the hut of the dead offerings of foodstuffs are placed, and the relatives from time to time visit the grave and

the hut to see whether these offerings are accepted. Some day they may find that the field mice have nibbled the porridge, or that the cockroaches have been at the overflowings of the beer, or that a snake has been seen to enter the cattle kraal; then they say, "The spirit has accepted what we have offered and has come to live among us."

They do not think that the spirit partakes of these material things, but that the spirit takes the "spirit" of the substances offered and feeds upon it. For everything in the world is of the spirit. In good and in evil these spirits are the source of things. In the night time as the traveler passes through the woods a twig breaks, and he knows that a spirit is speaking in that act and he breaks another twig and throws it into the wood. Distant sounds are carried in the night winds, and he says, "Hear the drumming and dancing of the spirits."

Faced day by day with forces he cannot control, the African is compelled to believe in spiritual powers that are all about him. The lightning and thunder, the clouds that pass overhead, the silent disease that stalks through the village, all witness that there are forces at work in the universe which his hands and powers cannot guide, so he seeks to propitiate these and to make them friendly. Charms and jujus are the objects into which these spiritual powers enter. It is not this hideous juju that the African worships, not the little bundle of roots tied to his bow that gives direction to his arrow, but the mighty spirit that has come to these and is em-

bodied in them. His confidence in these arises from a sense of his own powerlessness and a faith in the spirits that are all about him. He is but a passive instrument used by them.

Not that this faith brings him into negative passivity. He knows that though the priest or witch-doctor has blessed his field he must hoe it, and though charms surround his cattle kraal he must guard his beasts and herd them. He may seek by dreams and by the advice of the spirit in his dreams, or by the sacrifice of his priest, to find out where the antelopes are. Yet he will carefully stalk them and watch the spoor and the direction of the wind. The success of his efforts depends on his cooperation with the spirits. The magic twigs on his bow give him confidence as he takes careful aim and shoots his arrow.

Now if ancestral spirits dwell in these little things, more certainly are the great things of nature full of their presence. With their magnitude grows the greatness and power of the spirit essence that is in them. This deep pool, this ancient spreading tree, this high hill that raises its head into the clouds, these all have soul too, and there the mighty spirits dwell. These greater spirits are the gods of the clan and of the nation. They are not worshiped by private individuals but by the official representative, the priest of clan or nation.

Men have told me that they have seen the spirit enter the pool in the form of a serpent, and some have seen the mighty spirit of the nation come from the hill,

which is his corporeal form, like a great snake with a fiery head. When the stormy winds come blowing over the maize fields with showers of hail leveling the grain, then they know that the god has gone forth on a journey to visit some distant cloud-capped hill, or a dedicated woman offered to his use, who lives by herself in her lonesome hut. At his approach she sweeps out her hut and puts forth the burning embers of her fire, and with head covered she awaits the coming of her divine husband.

Over all this faith the African believes in the great Creator God. He is an absentee to them, but it was he who made the world and was the author of all life. Today he takes no active control of the affairs of men. That is left to the spirits that fill the world. His name is associated with the sky. There are many names for him in Africa which give to him some sense of personality and care for the world—"the Nourisher," "the Great Giver," "the Creator," but these names do not bring the ancient source of life very near to the common man.

You need not begin to prove to the African that God is. He knows it and has never doubted. This spiritual feeling the missionary must reverently approach. If God prepared Israel for the final revelation of Christ through a long education, precept by precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, so too has he been educating Africa, and the way by which you would lead the animist is the very path he has been treading, which leads out of the tangle of the dark

forest into the sunlit places where the Light of the world is shining.

MAGIC

One often hears it said that the raw native is greatly to be preferred to the civilized and Christian native; that the civilized native steals and commits adultery and has no reverence, while the raw native is more moral and more respectful. Now this has a germ of truth in it, and if you said that the tribal native is much to be preferred to the detribalized native, most men who know both types would agree with you. For what is it that maintains the fabric of African society? I think there are two main factors. One is social loyalty and the other is faith in magic.

First, there is social loyalty. The African's social ideals are fixed by tribal custom and tribal sanctions. He may not steal from a member of his own community or he becomes an enemy of his own society. The clan is built up on the family sanctions. He may not marry one who is of his own clan, and thus unnatural unions within certain forbidden degrees are not permissible. He may not tamper with the family loyalties or again he becomes an enemy of his community and will be cast out. But these loyalties do not apply to other communities which have no connection with his. Thus he may kill and rob those who are outside of his society. But so long as he remains a member of his community, obedience to its sanctions and practices is essential. Thus when he goes forth to an industrial center and becomes one of a mass of natives gathered

from all quarters and without loyalties to one another, one of the great safeguards of his life has broken down.

The other great sanction of society is magic, and this penetrates the whole idea of social loyalty too, binding the community into unity and continuity. Yet, though faith in magic is all-prevailing, you will find no word for it in African languages. It is the name we give to that mystic essence which is in all things, more powerful than the material, and more active and inevitable. It makes the impossible possible. Thus a man may shoot his arrow at an old footprint and kill a buffalo five hundred yards away. He may slash the wooden pillars of the veranda of a house, and the master sleeping within will be wounded and slain. He may bless the droppings of the pigeons, and the dovecot will be fertile.

Here is a maize field, ripe for plucking. All day tired and hungry travelers pass through. There is no fence to protect the field from thieves, and no guards to watch it. Yet not a cob of maize is stolen. For at the entrance hangs a little magic bundle set there by the medicine-man, and every traveler knows that should he pluck a cob of that protected garden his feet will begin to swell and disease will come to his family. The garden is even protected from the pigs and antelopes that roam the forest in the night, and the owner sleeps secure, for the medicine-man has smoked the boundaries, and the game themselves start back from the watchfulness of that magic policeman.

Magic is the most unerring detective in the world.

The mystic essence is in the poison ordeal and it can make no mistake about the criminal. Many a man who lives and works a thousand miles from his own wife and family maintains his family loyalty because he knows that should he be unfaithful his wife and family will suffer. This woman trips over a root and endangers her unborn child. Immediately she and her neighbors suspect the conduct of her absent husband.

I was once called in to attend a great chief who was dying. The people feared riot and killing should he die, and I was asked to be there to keep the peace. When I arrived at his village I found the poor man panting for breath, ill with diphtheria. Outside in the village court the prime minister was taking the only measures that could save the chief. He had assembled all the chief's wives and was closely cross-examining them to find which of them had been unfaithful to her husband. Under the terror of the inevitable consequences of her misdeed, one wife confessed to her unfaithfulness and then fled for her life. When the magical cause was thus removed the prime minister took measures, and by careful treatment extracted the membrane from the chief's throat, and he recovered. But everyone knew that this recovery was only possible when there was spirit cooperation with the skill of the minister.

This is the secret of the medicine-man's power: he and the magical powers cooperate together and so succeed. He gives his herbal medicines, but he also dances and drums and utters strange sounds of the

spirit world. It is this ability to cooperate with the spirit powers that makes him the healer that he is, and his reputation depends on the greatness of his spirit allies.

Native society, thus protected by communal loyalies and by belief in magical powers, maintains the higher morality of the raw native. Lift him out of these loyalties, break his faith in magic by the sight of your superior mechanical and scientific skill—then, unless you have given him new sanctions and safeguards of conduct in the higher faith of Christ, you leave him a derelict in a stormy sea.

I once had a demonstration of the difference that is made to the sense of safety in a society where tribal sanctions rule, and in that where they are ignored. When I was holding a mission in Pretoria two ladies came to me and said they regretted that they could not come to the evening meeting, as they lived on the outskirts of the town and had no gentleman to escort them home. They were afraid of the natives in the streets. The same day I received a letter from my wife whom I had left in Nyasaland in charge of my station. In this letter she told of a sudden summons she had had one evening to attend a patient who was seriously ill at the government station twenty miles away. She sent immediately to the village to call four native lads to pull her little rickshaw, and with these natives she traveled through the night for twenty miles, past village after village until she came to the side of her patient. Throughout that journey, alone though she was amid

thousands of natives, and in the dark, she had no sense of fear, for she was surrounded by most solicitous care, and was reckoned a most precious charge by her bearers and by every person in the land.

What made the difference between her situation and that of those gentle ladies in the city of Pretoria? It is not in the heart of tribal life that we find the "black peril," but in the midst of industrial centers where detribalized people congregate, and where Christ has been forgotten by many who should know him.

It is within the power of all men to control in some degree the spirit essences. Some do so from evil intention and some from good. There are the priests, medicine-men, rain-makers, who are the spiritual leaders of Africa. They must not be considered enemies of religion or of social morality. They are really the best friends of the people, even though they may use their high prestige for their own enrichment and for the terrorizing and impoverishment of society. Some of them may be true believers in their own gifts, though others are charlatans who, by planned tricks, play on the credulity of the people. But while the people continue to believe in the pervading spirit who has so important a place in their life, these specialists are necessary for confidence and peace.

The witch-doctor's, or medicine-man's, function is to "smell out" the culprit who has brought calamity on a citizen or on the community, and also to make the spirits friendly and beneficent. He makes the sacrifice that brings the rain. He cleanses the village when

pestilence has smitten it, and protects it with his charms. He brings the spirits into the charms that a man may possess: he hangs on his neck the bundle that saves him from pneumonia, or on his leg the defence against snake bite, or ties to his bow or gun the charm that will make him a sure marksman, or fences his possessions by magical police.

But the sorcerer is in another class altogether. He is the man who acts an enemy's part and uses black magic to hurt the people. He has acquired power to turn to evil those mystic forces, so that the food that is eaten poisons the eater, and the water of the well carries death. He curses the food that has been left over, or the hair or nail clippings, and his act kills the owner of the article he has cursed. For him there is no prestige and no honor. He is an enemy who works in secret, and the witch-doctor who can smell him out is the savior of the people.

Many of the customs and much of the fabric of society are constructed and consolidated by faith in magic. It is easy for governments and for Christian missions to denounce practices which are cruel and contrary to civilized notions. But it is not so simple to suppress them. The French government in West Africa has found the greatest difficulty in uprooting the poison ordeal practice after death, and though strong laws are passed against such ordeals, and against twin-murder and other customs, in secret they may still be followed, not because the people love cruelty or are callous to suffering, but because these things are essen-

tially allied with the expression of their belief in the spirit action in society.

For example, one of the most repugnant expressions of this faith is shown when a young wife is in difficult labor. She is surrounded by pressing accusations by which the women would terrify her into confession of adultery. There is no hope for her recovery till she confesses, for her situation is the magical consequence of her sin; it is abnormal and out of the ordinary course of nature. Though the hospital is near, and authentic stories are known of the sure help the European doctor can give there, no one who is still gripped by the old faith will allow the woman help or sympathy till she makes confession. In her terror she may make false charges against the innocent, but when she has spoken, no doubt is raised in favor of the accused. Expiation must be made, and the accusation releases the magical hold upon her. You remonstrate with the intelligent people against the cruelty of the charge, but they only reply that without such a protection social morality would fall to pieces.

So you find practices and social customs which you say must be reformed, but in the reformation you shock the religious sense of the people, or, if no magical consequences follow the breaking of custom, you destroy their faith in magic and remove the binding sanctions that have held tribal life together.

ISLAM

We are apt to think of Africa as entirely peopled with animists of the type that has been described, but Dr. Zwemer reckons that today there are forty-seven million Mohammedans as against eighty-three million pagans in the continent. If it is necessary that we sympathetically understand animism, it is scarcely less urgent that we do not ignore Islam, if Africa is to be won for Christianity. The weakness of our propaganda is that so few in Africa have made a special study of Islam, and possess the necessary qualifications of knowledge to meet its followers. But a healthy attention is now being directed to this great religion and to its progress in Africa.

The coming of Islam to North Africa is one of the great tragedies of Christian church history. It was in the seventh century that Arab forces swept across Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, blotting out the Christian civilization there. But not until the eleventh century was there any effort to cross the Sahara to the Negro tribes, and it was only in the sixteenth century that the movement reached its climax and the famous university of Timbuktu began to radiate to Europe its zeal and learning. Even then missionary extension was very limited, but in the nineteenth century, under great Negro Moslem conquerors, Islam spread over the western Sudan, and under Mahdi and Dervish orders into the eastern Sudan.

From East Africa Arab slavers carried their faith into the interior, without, however, having much effect

on the pagan people. The Dutch meantime had made the Cape a penal settlement for Malays who had been disaffected. Thus was introduced a considerable flow of Mohammedan Malays. Today there are over twenty-four thousand in the Cape Province. The coolies from India who were brought to work in the sugar plantations in Natal have settled there, and have been followed by many others. There are now seventeen thousand Mohammedans in Natal.

In West Africa a certain social prestige has won victories that arms never achieved. Captain André counts in Senegal eight hundred and thirty-two thousand Moslems, and three hundred and twenty-one thousand pagans; in French Guinea six hundred and fifty-six thousand Moslems and seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand pagans, and so on. But it is not in numbers or prestige that Dr. Zwemer would have us see the power behind Islamic propaganda, but in the dynamic zeal of orders like the Dervish, which are spreading in North Africa.

Gathering up the present extension of Islam, Mr. Roome roughly calculates that five hundred and sixty-two tribes are wholly Mohammedan, nine hundred and eighty-seven are under Mohammedan influence, and two thousand five hundred and thirty-three are still pagan.

All these facts must be qualified by others. For example, if about fifty thousand Mohammedans are now to be found in the Union of South Africa where none were at the beginning of the last century, in the

same time there has arisen a company of one million African Christians. Captain André maintains that many reputed Mohammedan tribes are more properly pagan than Mohammedan, *e.g.*, the majority of the Hausas are still pagan. Again, if Islam flows rapidly it does not flow deep, and its course is stopped or has dried up where once it seemed to run. Dr. Leys says that in East Africa there is no sign of growth. M. Brévié declares that "everywhere the country youth seem to be leaving Islam," finding too irksome the restrictions and obligations of the religion their fathers have adopted.

One fact remains patent, that where Christianity comes first, Mohammedanism has no chance. Islam brings a higher faith than animism, but a lower one than Christianity. "The Christian school," says Bishop Overs of Liberia, "is the greatest barrier to the advance of Islam. Let a Christian school be placed within reach of all tribal children of Liberia, and I am positively certain that Liberia can never become a Mohammedan state. . . . To be the first on the field with Christian instruction is the surest way to stop Mohammedan advance."

He illustrates this by his experience with the Vai people, the brightest and most intellectual of the tribes, and closely related to the Moslem Mandingoes. Though much missionary effort has been made by the Mohammedans in so promising a field, they have had little success. The superintendent of Moslem missions thus declares, "I am doing nothing nor can I do any-

thing, as the people are absolutely indifferent to Moslem claims." When you look for the barrier to this progress you find it in the large boarding-school at Cape Mount, where Vai lads have been trained, and whence they have gone back to their own people to tell what they have learned of Christ.

The impression is abroad that Islam has spread by the power of the sword. But I think that facts prove that its most permanent victories in Africa have been won by peaceful penetration. When Christian missionaries first entered Nyasaland they found that a great Mohammedan slaving empire was in process of formation. Several vital centers had been occupied in what is now Northern Rhodesia, at the north and south ends of Lake Nyasa, and on the east and west shores. There followers were gathered, and ivory and slaves; and the simple tribes acknowledged the sovereignty of the Arab leaders. But fire and slaving were the arms that the Arabs used, and when the British government broke their power, only a few tribes in the immediate neighborhood had adopted the Mohammedan religion. Since then, along tribal lines, Islam has spread through the Yao race along the eastern shores of Lake Nyasa, and down to the Zambezi, until there are now reckoned to be two hundred and eighty-three thousand Mohammedans in that region.

In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where there has been full occupation by schools, Mohammedanism has not only been stayed but is surely being defeated. The fear of fierce antagonisms and civil disturbances is

not bred in the minds of African administrators by African experience but by Asiatic. For in many a village in Nyasaland a Christian school is there at the invitation of a Mohammedan head-man, and the Mohammedan pupil sits with the pagan and learns his lessons. Every year the missions that work in Mohammedan areas record converts from the superficial Islamic faith of the villager.

The bulk of the followers of Mohammed in pagan Africa have only a veneer of religion. What they profess and follow is deeply mixed with the faith of the pagan. They may be content to pronounce in degenerate Arabic certain formulæ which have no meaning for them, while their vital faith is the faith of their ancestors. There are Moslem communities where the Ramadan festival is begun and ended with pagan rites, and where the people ward off all manner of evil influences by surrounding their arms and necks with Koranic amulets and talismans which are only another form of the witch-doctor's charm.

Yet it must not be assumed that there are no pure or learned Moslems even in pagan Africa. In North and Central and South Africa may be found many who have made pilgrimage to Mecca, who speak Arabic well, and who most religiously observe the times and manner of worship. In their hands lie the zeal and knowledge which make extension possible.

Because Islam has spread in Africa it must have had something to give. Arnold holds that the overwhelming appeal of the early Arab conquerors in North

Africa came from the fact that they carried a more ascetic, more honorable, and more intelligent civilization than that of the debased African church of the sixth century. So the power of Islam over paganism today is that it has introduced a more advanced civilization, new commerce, and new comforts. It has created a certain individualism and self-respect, put some restriction on polygamy, abolished certain barbarous practices, forbidden the drinking of ardent spirits, taught kindness to animals, practised world brotherhood, and introduced the arts of reading and writing.

These at least are the ideals, but the main appeal to the superficial follower has been in certain scenic effects. The white-robed Mohammedan with his red fez or white cap impresses the African with a sense of greater human dignity. His rhythmical ritual of prayer performed in public, and not deeply allied to anything ethical, has its appeal, but most appealing are the joyful and sensuous processions and festivals of Ramadan, wild with salacious emblems and dancing.

"Religious pride is the strength of Islam in Africa," says Zwemer; "racial pride the peculiar weakness of Christianity in Africa." There is truth in this, but not too much accuracy. For pride of race is at the bottom of the religious pride. Islam is a black man's religion. And the prevailing Christianity which draws color bars between black and white is apt to drive the black man into a religious brotherhood which puts no divisions between its devotees, and practises a brotherhood which Christianity only professes in theory.

But against all advantages we should consider the disadvantages which must bring about the overthrow of Islam. The civilization it has created is little above the pagan, and is static. Its civil code is unfit for ruling a state where civilized ambitions are created. Although governments and officials, with a strange perversity, give favor to the Mohammedan, and reckon his religion peculiarly suitable to Africa, none would like to see Islamic laws become in every particular the standard of government. What is good enough for the individual would be disastrous for the administration.

While outwardly observing a cleansing ritual, morally the African Mohammedan too often is foul and sensual. The literature is so hemmed in with limitations that it will not help the progressive African. Arabic writing is of little use in commercial firms. Islam has a tradition of slaving which cannot be forgotten, and which is approved by the Koran. Its science is shocked by every new knowledge and experience.

These are some of the weaknesses in the African form of Islam. The strength of Christianity is not centered in a civilization but in Jesus Christ, the absolute revelation of the Father, the sinless Son of Man, the Redeemer of mankind, whose reign over the individual and society and the nation is the high event towards which the world and all the ages are moving on. For Africa nothing less than the best can satisfy. And there is no one who has personal experience of Christ who will for a moment suggest that Mohammed is greater than Christ. In ethical standards his religion

is far below Christ's. He was sinful, while Christ was sinless. His name may rouse devotion and passionate zeal. But Christ's name does that, and carries also the force that regenerates men and nations. Civilization has left far behind the levels of Koranic laws. It has not yet reached the heights of Christian law. And unless Africa is to be left chained to the past, she must be freed to push on to the likeness of Christ.

CHAPTER III

THE PENETRATION OF AFRICA

The natural dykes of Africa successfully resisted the tides of Europe for centuries. The Carthaginians and the Romans who had settled in North Africa made several abortive attempts to penetrate farther south, but the Sahara, with its warlike tribes armed with weapons scarcely inferior to those of the invaders, broke all efforts to push on. Yet there were little trickles and streams of alien folk from the outside world who exercised some influence. Moslem Arabs and Berbers broke across the desert and reached West Africa, leaving there traces of their civilization. From the east the Muscat Arabs of Zanzibar carried on a lucrative trade in slaves and ivory, reaching out to the great lakes and to the Congo basin. In the fifteenth century little settlements of Europeans were set up in fortified places where harbors could be found. But these were limited in the tropics to coasts which maintained a slight trade with the interior, and even in the temperate zone of South Africa the few colonists there clung about the neighborhood of the garrison.

Europe, ignorant of the geography of the interior, was equally unaware of the awful human conditions therein. We are justly indignant about many oppressions of the present day, but these are far removed

from the conditions that obtained before white administration began to control the continent. The military Islamic powers of the north were waging an exterminating war for slaves in the west. The traders of the east were scarcely less destructive in their commerce in the center. Within the continent internecine war and awful magical barbarities were taking their toll of human life. Barbarism was making Africa red with blood.

Following hard on the geographical discoveries of Livingstone, Stanley, Barth and others, conditions had arisen in Europe which made her look abroad for new stores of raw material. The enormous increase of population,[1] and the demands of an intensified industrialism for raw products, turned the eyes of Europe to Africa, so that after the 'seventies there arose a great commercial interest in her untouched resources.

GOVERNMENT

Before we touch on the scramble of Europe for the possession of Africa, we must note the early and only effort of America to have a share in the settlement of the continent, an effort that came early in the century in a purely philanthropic attempt to retrieve the evils of the slave trade by the settlement of freed Negroes in what is now the republic of Liberia. This country, of about forty-five thousand square miles lying between the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, is about the size of

[1] Between 1500 A.D. and 1900 A.D. the population of Europe had increased from 70,000,000 to 450,000,000, while at least 100,000,000 had gone overseas.

the state of Pennsylvania. In the 'twenties of the last century the American Colonization Society placed various groups of liberated slaves along the coast line. After some years necessity compelled these settlements to form themselves into a government for the protection of their land and the levying of customs. The plan they followed was that of the republic of the United States. Though many of their difficulties arose from their proximity to a British colony, no opposition was raised by Britain, and in 1848 that empire made treaty with them, receiving them into the family of nations. But it was not till 1862 that the tardy recognition of the Congress of the United States was received.

Since that date the United States has been their "next friend," to whom they have looked for counsel and help. The position of the new republic was a very difficult one. Surrounded by European colonies, eager for expansion, they had to maintain the integrity of their frontier. But two thousand freedmen had been settled in the land, and behind them a barbaric people numbering one or two million. The land is rich in minerals and agricultural possibilities, but the American Liberians, who have now increased to about fifteen thousand, were untrained in the art of developing its resources. The idea of government did not take this essential necessity into its orbit, but specialized on administration. The result was that the mass of the people were left uncivilized, the resources undeveloped, while the finances fell into so great confusion that America was called in to deliver them. A loan of about

twenty-five million dollars has been granted, to be administered by a commission which the President of the United States designates, and to be spent not only on the refunding of debt but on the development of the colony.

Though the progress of this republic has been slower than that of the neighboring colonies administered by European powers, the difficulties to be contended with have been greater, and the resources of money and skill much more limited. All the world is watching with interest what developments may now be possible with more substantial cooperation from America, for here is the interesting experiment of black men seeking to rule themselves by themselves, and carrying the heavy responsibilities of a pioneering civilization in a land where health and social conditions make their task doubly hard.

It was in the 'eighties of last century that the historic scramble for Africa began. There were many motives that led Europe there, and we must not forget that the humanitarian motive was one. Livingstone's exposure of the havoc of inter-tribal war, and of the ravages of the slave-trade, compelled Europe and America to help to heal Africa's open sores. The isolation and danger of pioneer missions, as, for instance, in Uganda and Nyasaland, demanded that all the work and sacrifice of philanthropy should not be swamped by torrents of savage forces. And this call for protection had some part in the action of the Powers. One of the first to mark off a great territory for disinterested service

was Leopold of Belgium, who founded the International Association of the Congo, which was recognized by the Berlin Act of 1885. This treaty successfully stopped the importation of fire-arms to the natives, ostensibly as a check to the slave-trade, and also the introduction of trade spirits within certain areas. But no international supervision was exercised over the methods of administration, and the government of the Congo Free State, which was inaugurated with such altruistic professions, became a horror of injustice until it was reorganized as Belgian Congo. Then it took an entirely different form, making for the advance of civilization in these regions.

In ignorance of tribal boundaries, protectorates and spheres of influence were rapidly carved out on lines of latitude and longitude. Though no white man had penetrated into the interior, European powers thought it necessary to preserve for their coast-line a hinterland for future development.

In the rush for occupation the production of treaties with native rulers became the fetich of those who claimed territory. Adventurers, sometimes with the approval of the home authorities, often far ahead of the timid ambitions of their governments, sent to Europe heaps of treaties. By these the native rulers, who did not understand what they were doing, and who often had no authority to alienate their lands or people, "voluntarily" came under the protection of a European power. "In some cases, it is said, the assent had been obtained by the gift of a pair of

boots, or a few bottles of gin—the Kaiser had sent a parcel of opera hats working with a spring." [2] Sometimes, alas, treaties were also made by a show of force, and by threatening the life of an unfortunate unwilling chief. One of the largest and richest concessions in Central Africa was obtained by this means.

Whether Africa, without the help of Western administration, could ever have advanced out of barbarism and controlled the evil within her that was destroying her life, may be questioned. For good or for evil Europe has now divided out nine-tenths of the whole area of Africa among her Powers, and the occupation has to be justified by the fulfilling of certain obligations that are involved in administration. There are the definite efforts towards policing which Africa could not undertake from her own standards and resources, the suppression of the slave-trade and of intertribal warfare, the abolition of barbarous practices which cause suffering and death, the restraint of the trade in fire-arms and ardent spirits, the preservation of game and of natural resources, the administration of justice, and the exercise of good government.

But no protectorate fulfils its functions by mere negative restraints; there must also be an active development of the people and of the resources of the land. This positive service was suggested in the treaties of Berlin and of Brussels, but a generation's experiments in colonial government, and the penetration of the spirit of Europe with something more of the idea of

[2] Sir Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, p. 16.

the Kingdom of God, has led to the highest definition in the covenant of the League of Nations of a European government's functions in Africa: "that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." Though this definition only refers to the colonies which were formerly under German rule, it expresses the ideal which all must in time adopt, viz., that no nation has a right to administer in Africa unless it sees to it that not alone are the material resources of the country preserved and developed, but that the moral and educational advance of the people is promoted also.

The detailed working out of African administration may take one of two forms: direct or indirect government. The direct method was seen in its extreme form in the German colonies. The aim was to break down native institutions and, substituting European forms and officers, to control the country entirely on the more civilized models. In lesser degree the same style has been followed in some of the British colonies. It was based on the assumption that all forms of native government led to stagnation and were inimical to progress.

The indirect form of administration is government by the sovereign power through existing native institutions. A good example of this may be seen in Basutoland. There the old annual gathering of the people (the *pitso*) used to be summoned, and the people were allowed the greatest freedom in the criticism of the chiefs and European officials. Now an elected council has taken its place, and discusses eco-

nomic and other matters that affect the nation. The governor-general's sanction is necessary to confirm its findings.

The aim of government varies greatly within the continent. The French frankly follow a policy of assimilation, and would turn all the natives into full French citizens. Those who speak French, own a certain amount of property, and have proved their loyalty, may claim full citizenship. The teaching of French in the schools and other educational means are used to effect this complete identification with France. But it can be questioned whether a nation is ever able to impose so foreign a culture upon an alien people, and whether beneath the veneer of French culture and assimilation there may not be a smouldering resentment, created by pride of national consciousness, which may at any moment turn into anarchy. The Belgians, on the other hand, now seek to preserve and raise to a higher standard all national institutions, that they may enrich the world by the stimulation of a purely African culture.

British possessions have not adopted publicly any simple ideal of either kind. Unfortunately, some citizens who have a voice which is heard call for repression as the true policy, and they see safety only in keeping the black man in his subject position. But generally, responsible governors work towards the maintenance of native institutions, and of such authority in the hands of the chiefs as helps justice and progress, and towards the gradual education of the people in powers

of self-government, which will be granted to them as they prove their ability by a rise in the general level of intelligence and civilization.

COMMERCE

Commerce has always been the greatest pioneer of civilization. It was trade that first pioneered in Africa. Around the West Coast the very names by which the districts were known show what brought men there. We still speak of the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast, and so on. And these names reveal that the trade was not for the enrichment of a people by teaching them new arts of production, but for their impoverishment by extracting from the continent its wealth without creating new products. Gold, ivory, spices, and human beings were the chief items of export from West Africa. And of these the greatest and most remunerative was the slave traffic in human beings. It is humiliating to trace the rise and extent of this inhuman trade, and one would gladly blot it out of this book if it were simply a matter of history, but it is not dead yet, and its effects are still felt in Africa.

From the earliest time the enslavement of Africans seems to have been the practice of European and Asiatic nations, for it was always recognized, though not in the fashion we would acknowledge it today, that the greatest wealth of Africa is man. It was after the discovery of America, and when her plantations began to feel a pressing necessity for labor,

that the white man's trade in slaves with the West Coast became a great enterprise. The supply of cotton and tobacco was made possible by slave labor, and the supply of the labor itself made fortunes for many, but spread death and untold suffering throughout Africa. Du Bois may not be exaggerating when he estimates that the trade cost Africa a hundred million souls. These figures are appalling, but more awful would be the record, if it could be catalogued, of human degradation and suffering, of fire and sword, of hunger, and of broken family and tribal life, that spread through West and Central Africa.

With the prohibition of the overseas traffic in slaves early in the nineteenth century, and then with the costly liberation of slaves, a new age was inaugurated when Christian Europe and America sought to shake themselves free from the evil they had done, and make some reparation for the past.

But if the Christian public conscience was roused, Islam had no such feeling, for the Koran sanctioned slavery. So from the East Coast, and from the north through the stronger warlike Moslem nations, the traffic continued and grew in volume. In the heart of Africa David Livingstone saw with his own eyes what a trade in murder this traffic carried on. He helped the West to appreciate that not by policing the coast but by occupation and administration of the interior and by the development of legitimate commerce would it be most effectively checked. For slaving in Central and East Africa was held to be a necessity of transport. It

was remunerative not simply as merchandise in human beings, but also as a method by which the stores of ivory accumulated in the interior could be carried to market. The price of slaves in East Africa was far lower than that obtaining on the West Coast and in America. A good tusk of ivory which one slave might carry would fetch from two to three hundred yards of cloth, and that was also the price of a strong girl or young woman, though the price of a man was much lower.

The call for legitimate trade was answered by several trading companies and merchant adventurers, who found in commerce a holy instrument for Africa's redemption. The first pioneer of this sort in Nyasaland was a master from Harrow, Mr. Cotteril, who sailed up the rivers and along Lake Nyasa in a large steel boat given to him by the boys of Harrow. He was followed by the Moir brothers, who, after inspecting the possibilities of trade, returned to found the African Lakes Company. With the help of a number of high-minded Glasgow merchants, who were content "to take out their dividends in philanthropy," they opened up legitimate commerce, established lines of communication between the coast and the interior, bought ivory and goods on the spot, and carried these by means of steamers and of paid porters from their stores to the civilized markets. In this way they made trade and export possible without slave traffic.

Yet it was no peaceable trading victory that they won, for the Arabs fought to retain their enterprise.

The commercial company almost exhausted its resources in its splendid efforts to save those lands from destruction, whilst the governments of the West looked on with no sense of responsibility, and with some irritation at the difficulties philanthropy was creating.

The slave traffic is not dead yet. The Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations reported that there are in Europe, Asia, and Africa no fewer than nineteen areas where slave-trading and slave-markets still exist. Along the borders of the Sahara and in Abyssinia slaves are bought and sold. Slave *dhows* still evade the European cruisers in the Red Sea and carry their hapless victims to Arabia. But measures and pledges are now being taken which promise gradually to eliminate the traffic altogether.

Colonial expansion in Africa came not from the initiative of governments but from the enterprise of private citizens. We have already seen how a private company in America founded the republic of Liberia. Long before officials had caught the vision of expansion, private associations in Germany, France, and Britain, and adventurers in Africa, were busy educating a nation and compromising their governments by their pushful ambitions. Some of the greatest and most valuable lands of the British Empire were pioneered by private companies, and by great trading concerns which obtained from their sovereign a charter of monopoly and administrative rights. Thus Canada owes much to the Hudson's Bay Company, and India to the East India Company. Adam Smith held that "the govern-

ment of an exclusive company of merchants is the worst of all forms of government." Yet by companies of this type, controlled and supervised by a reluctant Colonial or Foreign Office, more than a million square miles in Africa, and a population of at least twenty-five million people, have been added to the British Empire. As time advanced the charters were revoked, and self-government or the control of the Colonial Office took their place.

One of the earliest of these charters was granted to the Exeter merchants trading in West Africa. These merchants have long ago disappeared. But of vital importance to the present day have been three great chartered companies—the Royal Niger, the Imperial East Africa, and the British South Africa.

The Royal Niger, which obtained its charter in 1886, held it for thirteen years, and under Sir George Goldie was able to amalgamate a number of competing companies with a lucrative trade, to spread their operations from Sokoto to Lake Chad, to forbid the introduction of intoxicants in the north, and finally to lay claims to a huge territory, through more or less "effective occupation."

The Imperial British East Africa Company, through Sir William Mackinnon, obtained a charter to develop and administer the lands now called Kenya and Uganda. They did not inherit a going concern, but were compelled to control peoples who lived in countries scarcely yet explored, and situated hundreds of miles from the base, and without communications. The task

proved far beyond their financial resources, while the resentment of the Arabs of their anti-slavery intentions, and the undisciplined character of the tribes of the interior, made demands on their control which they could not afford. After holding their charter for only six and a half years they were compelled to surrender it.

In 1889 a charter was granted to the British South Africa Company of which Mr. Cecil Rhodes was the founder, covering the administration and development of lands south of the Zambezi. Two years after, it was extended to lands north of the Zambezi right up to Lake Tanganyika. The part of their territory south of the Zambezi comprised a semi-tropical country, supposed to be fit for European settlement, and with great mineral resources. The northern section had but the scantiest of populations, dispersed over an enormous area, with not more than two or three people to the square mile. The density of population in the south was not much greater. As the European population in Southern Rhodesia increased in numbers, the demand for the revocation of the charter and for self-government began to be so insistent that at length Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony, while Northern Rhodesia came under the Colonial Office.

By painful experiments, by the sustained efforts of men who sought profit through the intelligent and paid labor of the people, and by demonstration of what cultivation can do, Africa is gradually moving out of her

self-contained poverty into the position of a rich exporting land. She is able to produce enormous quantities of raw and other materials which come only from tropical lands, and which are necessary for the life of industrialized Europe and America. She has not yet become a manufacturing land, preparing her raw materials and sending forth finished products to compete with the manufacturers of other nations, but her growing wealth is providing markets for the products of Europe and America. The volume of African trade in the past century has grown from about a hundred and fifty million dollars to more than three billion dollars.

We need the oils of Africa—palm oil, kernel oil, copra, cotton-seed, ground-nut, etc. We need her rubber, cotton, coffee, tea, cocoa, rice, sugar, tobacco; her fibers, drugs, timbers; her copper, gold, platinum, diamonds. And as we pay for what she sends forth from the continent, she demands our cotton goods, hardware, machinery, and a hundred other articles that she has learned to desire. So great is the increase in the volume of this trade of Africa with the nations of the earth that the combined trade of British tropical Africa alone has multiplied six and a half times in the last twenty years.

Uganda in 1925 produced eighty million pounds' weight of cotton, and six hundred thousand pounds of rubber, and she imported at the same time twenty-one million dollars' worth of European and American goods. As the eye travels round the continent the same amazing advance appears, sometimes, as in West

Africa, with greater emphasis, and sometimes with less. But this fact, full of significance for Africa's future, has to be recognized: that her commercial isolation has ceased and that she is sending to and receiving from the world gifts that make her a most necessary member in the family of the races of the world.

One of the first necessities for the development of trade is proper communications. The lack of these was one of the chief reasons for the backwardness of African commerce. The navigable rivers are few, and none of them afford a clear highway to the sea. Human porterage was almost the only means of transport, and that is one of the most costly methods. This is what led to the slave-trade, the most wasteful of all porterage systems. In Nyasaland and in East Africa tens of thousands of natives were annually engaged as carriers of merchandise. It is calculated that human porterage in legitimate trade costs about seventy-five cents a ton per mile. If the source of supply is four hundred miles from the port, that means that each ton would cost about three hundred dollars for carriage alone before it reached the sea, and to make that pay, only very costly products could be exported. Over vast areas of Africa cattle and pack carriage could not be used, owing to the presence of tsetse fly. Therefore the first necessity for the continent's development was the construction of railways. An ordinary train can do the work of thirteen thousand porters.

Today there are over thirty thousand miles of railway in Africa. Besides the smaller interlacing lines

which tap certain sources of supply, half a dozen great systems now penetrate the continent in various directions. There is the ambitious scheme of Mr. Rhodes to join the Cape to Cairo by a ribbon of railway. Slowly but steadily this project has been advancing both from the north and the south; through Egypt to the Sudan, from Cape Town twenty-seven hundred miles north to Bukama. Germany sent her line through from Dar es Salam to Lake Tanganyika. Britain drove her line from Mombassa to the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza. From Benguela on the West Coast to Katanga in the heart of Africa, through Portuguese and Belgian territory, another line is rapidly nearing completion. These systems, and numerous smaller ones in French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese and British territory, are making possible more rapid and cheaper communication, and have brought the interior peoples and their resources into touch with world markets.

It must not be assumed that all the trade development has been created by the white man through the use of the native as his paid laborer. For we are beginning to recognize that the African as his own master can produce far more, and more cheaply, than when acting as the enrolled and paid servant of the Westerner. The white man is still required to act as merchant, to bring the producer into touch with the markets.

The African is a great trader. There are tribes both in the west and the east who have always shown a strong propensity for trade, in the olden days through

barter and now by the carrying on of stores and the buying and selling of native produce. Others have always been agriculturists, and when, added to their own community needs, there is the prospect of making money by the growth of economic crops, the amount of valuable marketable goods which the African may produce is immense. In West Africa, where there are no concessions to European landowners, most of the large increase in the export trade is from the direct production of natives themselves. The great advance in cotton production in Uganda is also the fruit of native cultivators, and the same is true of Nyasaland, to a smaller degree. Some of the people in the Transkei and in Basutoland own large herds of sheep and cattle. The clippings of the wool of their sheep appreciably add to the wool exported from South Africa. But while it is true that a native cultivator who is independent will work harder and produce more than if he were a hired laborer, on the other hand the native method of agriculture impoverishes the land and produces a lower grade of goods, so that in the end he will leave a land poorer and with a lower standard of export goods than if he had worked under a European.

Yet a lover of Africa can only look with dread on the too rapid industrialization of the people. He will welcome any development which keeps the native more on the land, which is his natural element, and which helps him to find his wealth within his own community life. The growing stream of Africans to the industrial centers of South Africa, where they live away from

their tribal and family life for long periods, is at this stage a menace to their healthy development. While it may no longer be possible for them to live in the simple and poor conditions of the past, it is good when any opportunity is given them to raise economic crops within their own territory, and so to preserve those loyalties which are so essential to their society.

COLONIZATION

When one speaks of the penetration of Africa by government and commerce, one cannot think of these as impersonal agencies. Behind all administration is the official, and behind all commerce is the trader. The presence of these representatives of our Western civilization is having profound influences on the native people. What these influences are we shall study in another chapter. But meanwhile our business is to see what is the distribution of non-native races today in this once isolated continent.

There are first the Arabs, now no longer a pure race but much mingled with African blood. From the north they have passed into the Sudan, partly as conquerors and rulers. They may be found in places of high influence, sometimes as sultans and emirs, controlling the government, and often as merchants buying and selling the goods of the native people. For centuries they have been settled at the ports of East Africa, and especially on the island of Zanzibar. There they have created, by admixture with the Africans, a new race and a new language, called Swahili. While they have

not seized the rulership as they have in the west, their traders have scattered all over the interior, and occupy positions of high influence as the pioneer merchants of these backward regions.

Syrian merchants have established themselves on the West Coast, and by their keenness as traders have made themselves so unpopular that educated natives there petitioned government for their removal.

In South Africa a considerable number of Malays have settled and have increased in numbers. They live industriously as gardeners, fishermen, and small traders, and are much in advance of the native Bantu in arts and crafts.

A recent immigration, bringing most difficult political and social problems, is that of the Indians. In Natal they were introduced as laborers for the sugar plantations, and, their indentures once finished, they remained as gardeners and small traders. There are now a hundred and thirty-three thousand Indians in Natal. They came to Nyasaland as merchants, and have in the towns small communities, while their stores are scattered all over the colony. But they only number five hundred and seventy-four. To Kenya, Indians were introduced as laborers on the railway, and they have increased until today there are twenty-two thousand in that colony. Their demands for equal citizenship with the European members of the British Empire constitute one of the most baffling political problems. The Indians have an ability to live cheaply, and a habit of sending their savings out of the country

into India. Unlike the Arabs and Malays, they keep completely apart from the Africans. Forming a distinct community, through social habits and religion, from that of the Europeans and natives alike, their presence has caused difficulties and enmities which affect not only African politics but Indian also. They are the supreme demonstration to Africa that local legislation is a concern not alone of the colony where it is enacted, but also of the whole world. Mr. Gandhi first leapt into political prominence by his work for Indians in Natal and the Transvaal, and the present ferment in India has close connection with happenings in South Africa. Political aspirations, the competition of Indians with Europeans in the small trades and businesses, and their rights to purchase land, have introduced complications which are not easily unraveled. At present both Kenya and South Africa are earnestly engaged in trying to find a way out of the tangle.

It is in South Africa, with its temperate climate, that the main colonization by whites is found. They have become more an industrial and trading people, living largely in small towns and larger cities, and are also scattered over the land as large farmers and as traders. There are about one and a half million Europeans in the Union. Into their hands has fallen most of the land, and, as they are self-governing, all the power of legislation. Everywhere they are in contact with native life, and exercise a strong molding influence on the Africans with whom they share the sub-continent.

In Kenya we find again a considerable white population, most of whom are engaged in work on the land. They number ten thousand, as the country and climate have proved favorable to long periods of European residence. Throughout the other tropical countries the white population is very thin, and is mostly to be found in the coast and trading towns, and is constantly changing owing to the difficulties of the climate. In the Gold Coast the native population is about two million, and the European two thousand. Nigeria has eighteen million Africans, and three thousand nine hundred whites. The other tropical colonies have a somewhat similar proportion of racial distribution.

The influence which these white people in the tropical dependencies exercise is far out of proportion to their numbers. A large number of them are government officials and missionaries, the others traders. Administration, commerce, and education are in their hands. Much of the wealth and social security of the millions of natives among whom they live depends on them. Living as they do in close proximity to the African, depending on the service of the people, and occupying places of high influence and visibility, their daily contacts and character have big molding influences, consciously and unconsciously exercised, and are changing the form and expression of the lives of the natives. Their presence in an African colony makes Western control very necessary. For the gravest danger that can come to a backward people is that an advanced people, with the power which their superior

skill and wealth give them, should be able to follow their own will, grasp power through exploitation, and ignore the justice and loyalties that inhere in their own nationality.

There have been many stories in the romance of Africa of men who have carved out rulership for themselves, and created complications which involved loss and danger to others. I lived for many years among a people who were left by the government to administer their own affairs. The missionaries were the only Europeans among them, and they rigorously refused to interfere with the power of the chiefs or to adjudicate in civil matters. But as traders began to penetrate into this tribe, some, in their haste to make profit for themselves, trampled upon the laws of justice and honor, and brought themselves into danger from an infuriated people. No chief could interfere with them and punish them. Should harm come to them there would inevitably be a "punitive expedition." At last, after a serious affair with a filibuster, and also with uncontrolled police from a neighboring administered territory, the British government was compelled to take over the active control of the people, and place among them a magistrate who was responsible for the acts and conduct of any white men who came among them.

After a protectorate or colony has been established, the presence of the whites has immense influence on the policy of government. The material prosperity of the people depends on the prosperity of the whites, and the native is not so articulate as the white settler

can be, nor are his demands made with so much insistence. Thus laws may be passed which aim more at the welfare of the dominant white settler than at the rise and progress of the native population. The drama of Kenya has been the attempt to hold the balance between the demands of the European who has so much at stake in the land, and the fulfilment of the sovereign power's trusteeship for the natives of the colony. Whether it is to be a tragedy or not will depend on the high principles and the courage and wisdom which the government may exhibit in these critical years.

The economic development of a people is likewise largely influenced by the presence of the white man. It is he who creates markets in which goods may be bought and sold for cash. He brings the trade which creates industrial demands. Foreign goods must be transported for him. His productions must be exported. His plantations require labor. The comforts of his life depend on the intelligent service of the natives. So a people who once were self-contained, living on what they themselves produced, come into contact with the white man and exchange their labor for cash.

As the commercial prosperity of the white man develops, greater and greater demands for more workers, and more skilled workers, follow. Then educational methods are forced into that form which will make the African a better wage-earner. The teaching of English, French, or Portuguese is demanded by the pupils, for

these are essential qualifications for advancement. The trades, such as printing, carpentry, building, which the white man requires, are taught to apprentices. The village industries are forgotten, and cheaper American and European goods take the place of the old home-made utensils. Tin pails and iron pots are bought instead of their own pottery; Manchester goods instead of their own village-woven cloth; iron hoes from Birmingham instead of their own smelted and wrought iron. And the old village craftsmen begin to disappear before the greater wages which are paid to the worker by the Westerner.

Possibly more vital still are the effects upon the social life of the people which follow the presence of the European. A new idea of a house, of clothing, of food, of family life, of home, may be born more naturally from the things they see than from the lessons taught in church and school. No African can live and work in contact with the white man and his domestic life without absorbing revolutionary social ideas.

If only we could guarantee that every white man and woman going to Africa would be true to Christian standards, what a safety there would be for Africa in this increasing colonization. But when the lower civilization gives opportunity for the baser and hastier passions of the Westerner to manifest themselves, then comes the danger to Africa and to the white. One need not emphasize the evil that has been done by men and women who have ignored the re-

sponsibilities of their white civilization. One would rather remember those good settlers who have helped the African to purer and more progressive life by the clean and honorable record of their own lives, and who thereby have given to the white race a safety and a prestige which no wealth or military power can bring. For the position they make for their race is built on a foundation of good-will, and the lessons they have taught make for a better world.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH IN AFRICA

"I COULD start from these hills," said Dr. Robert Laws, speaking of a hill fifteen hundred feet high behind the pioneer station at Cape Maclear, Lake Nyasa, to which he used to retreat for quiet thought, "I could start from these hills and walk westward, westward, week after week, meeting thousands of villages, millions of people, and until I came to the West Coast of Africa I would not meet with a single missionary, nor find one when I arrived there. Away to the northwest, such a journey would take a month for every week that the other did before I could meet a missionary at Old Calabar. My nearest neighbors to the north were Americans at Assouan and Cairo. To the east the nearest missionary friend was to be found at Zanzibar on the equator. Think of all that vast region, with its millions of inhabitants, and no one seeming to care for their souls!"

HISTORY

It is but fifty years since that scene was pictured. For, up till the 'seventies, the churches in Europe and America had only touched the fringe of the coast of Africa at two or three places, though their missionaries were beginning to work up through the hinterland of the Cape to South Africa.

As early as 1822 the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States appointed their first missionaries to Liberia. But the American Colonization Society, on whose ships they were depending for transportation, refused to carry them. It was not till 1835 that they were successful in establishing their work, and then their representatives were colored people who had migrated to the colony a few years earlier. Other white missionaries followed soon after. In 1851 their first bishop was consecrated.

The American Presbyterians were earlier in their successful entrance into Liberia by two years, for their first missionaries arrived in 1833. For the first ten years all who came were whites, but each only served a year or two and died. Then the board resolved to send only colored missionaries, and when it withdrew from Liberia thirty years ago, out of eighty missionaries sent only twenty had been white. The American Methodists also began work in Liberia in 1833 and have continued their mission to the present time.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had also begun work in 1842 in the Gaboon mission, and this was transferred to the Presbyterian church in 1871. The Southern Baptists of America entered Nigeria in 1854, but ceased their work during the Civil War and only resumed again in 1905.

In South Africa America began early in the century work which has grown in volume and thoroughness through the years. The American Zulu Mission, asso-

ciated with the American Board, founded in 1848 the now famous institute at Amanzimtoti, and the Inanda High School for girls in 1849. There the thorough system of English education is combined with the adaptation of American methods.

Through the first seventy years of the century, Wesleyans, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans from America and Europe had been sending to the West Coast a constant stream of missionaries willing to die for Christ. Few were spared to live many years—in Sierra Leone a hundred and nine missionaries died in twenty-five years. Yet from the home church came ever new recruits, parents and sons alike crying, "Another for Christ." So they went forth to lay down their lives for Africa's evangelization.

Then came David Livingstone, finding new approaches to the interior, and at the same time reporting to the world the great population, and the sores that sucked vitality from the continent. His long, heroic pursuit of his ideal, and his lonely death at Chitambo's village, roused the conscience of the Western world, and immediately new efforts for evangelization began.

For this was the time of the sending of the Church Missionary Society mission to Uganda, the London Missionary Society to Tanganyika, the Livingstonia and Blantyre missions to Nyasaland, the Universities' Mission to Zanzibar and East Africa, the Baptist Missionary Society (British) to the Congo from Cameroun, where it had been working since 1840, the American Presbyterian mission to Cameroun, and the Finnish

to Southwest Africa. At the same time the earlier efforts began to extend largely. The Wesleyans had revival movements in South and West Africa. The church in Sierra Leone and the Niger delta increased greatly in numbers. The Scots saw the quickening of the famous institution at Lovedale, and the opening of Blythswood after a dramatic offering by the natives of funds for its establishment. The American Congregationalists and Methodists entered the Portuguese colony of Angola, penetrating far into the interior, and the American Baptists entered the newly opened land of the Congo. In the 'eighties the American Episcopal Church opened a new era of expansion and, daring much, consecrated their first Negro bishop in the person of Bishop Ferguson, who led his flock for thirty-one years with conspicuous energy and success.

When peace was restored to Basutoland, French missions reoccupied it with new vigor, and in the same decade the Anglicans embarked on extensive evangelization in South Africa through the energy of the bishops of the dioceses which had been created. The queen and prime minister in Madagascar had been baptized, and in a single year the membership of the church in that island increased from thirty-seven thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand souls.

It was in the 'seventies, too, that the Roman church began to pay fresh attention to the African field. Owing to the enthusiasm and devotion of the Lyons Society for African Missions, priests were sent to the Gold Coast and to Yorubaland. When the embargoes

on them were removed, Roman Catholics entered Cape Colony, Basutoland, and Barotseland. The Trappist Order moved from Port Elizabeth to Natal to found their famous industrial mission. At this time also the great figure of Cardinal Lavigerie appeared in Africa. He founded the Order of the White Fathers, and started that active penetration of the interior of the continent which in the coming years carried his people across the Sahara into Uganda and down through Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The immense improvement in lines of communication, the tribal settlement that has followed European administration, and the discovery of the causes of malaria and other tropical diseases, have made the Christian occupation of Africa easier today than ever before. But the paths we tread were opened at tremendous cost; and it is well that we remember with glowing gratitude those who went before. Nothing worth while in life is gained in any other way than by sacrifice. And that was the price that men and women had been paying. In perils of unknown diseases, in perils of war, in perils of wild beasts, in perils of the sea and of the jungle; in hunger and thirst, in discomfort and loneliness, misunderstood and suspected by their own countrymen and by the Africans, in sickness and death, they cleared places in the thick tangle of African barbarism where others might build and plant. Through faith they made the impossible possible, awakening the heroic sacrifice of men and women who cared for Christ and his lost children, leading here

and there a wild savage into the gentleness of Christ, and calling a self-centered careless world to look on the sores of a diseased land.

To some readers at home their call and service seemed like "the bray of asses," and to others "a romantic life." To those who worked it consisted of drab and plodding efforts amid constant sickness, with enervated bodies and the grave constantly opening, yet all illumined by him who for a world's redemption carried our sicknesses, and, despised and rejected, died on the cross that he might rise in victorious life.

EVANGELISM

A widespread movement towards Christianity had manifested itself in the tribe. Thousands of young men and women had entered the classes preparatory to baptism, and already thousands of others had been received into full membership. But the missionary observed with pain that few of the head-men, who were the fathers of the people, had left the old ways, though many old women had found new and joyous life in Christianity.

So he called all the village elders near at hand to meet him one Sabbath morning, and about seventy responded. When they were seated he said, "In the olden days you were the leaders of worship. Why is it that you sit in the village today, and leave the worship of God to the younger folk?"

"We are too old to understand the new doctrines and the new God. There are strange customs which

we cannot adopt, for we have had our customs that we received from our fathers."

"But it is not a new God whom we worship," said the missionary. "And the new customs are but the way in which new life expresses itself. Would you like to understand what the teaching is?"

"We cannot go to school. We are too old to learn to read. We have always been polygamists, and have drunk our beer."

"Well," replied the missionary, "it is a long way we have to travel till we come to God. And you hear that there are broad rivers and seas to cross, and you have no canoes. You fear the crossing. But let us forget about the difficulties ahead. Will you try to see if you can make the first day's journey with me?"

"Yes, let us try," they cried.

So that day the missionary took as his text, "God is." When he had finished the old men spoke, delighted to have an opportunity of taking part, as they did in the village councils. They told how their fathers, too, named the Creator God, and they gave the evidence that confirmed their faith.

When the conference was over, the missionary asked:

"Do you believe that God is?"

"Yes, we all believe," they assented.

"Then we have finished our first day's journey together, and have arrived at the first sleeping-place. Next Sunday come and see whether we can travel another stage together."

When the class broke up and the church bell rang

for service, the old head-men were all there, with a new sense that this worship belonged to them too.

Next Sunday they were all present, and the missionary took as his text, "God is in the world today, not an absentee God, but living and working."

When he had finished the head-men talked, slowly producing evidence that this must be true. God had not left the world he made and the children to whom he had given life. But the fathers had not thought of this. When the discussion closed, the missionary said:

"We have finished our second day's journey. Have you all arrived at this sleeping-stage?"

"Yes," they cried, "we are all there." And they trooped into church again, and sat where the fathers of the people should be—well forward before the congregation.

On the third Sunday one or two were absent, but they sent apologies, sorry to miss the day's travel. Then the missionary's text was, "God is good." This was new doctrine. The old men had not thought of God as having righteousness. But when they had talked it out they were all agreed that it must be so, and they assented that they were all together at the third stage, and had found the road not too hard.

Next week the text was, "God loves." But this was difficult to believe. Why were there sickness and death in the world? They used to say, when he took their children from them, "He is cruel." That day the discussion was long and detailed. But when the

end came they said they were all there at the end of the fourth stage.

Then the missionary came to the most difficult text of all, "He that worships God must be good too." They knew what worship was, but they had not associated worship with conduct. But as they talked it over they agreed that if God was good, he could not be content till those who reverenced him were like him. And in the end they at last assented to this doctrine, and they all said the journey had been made by them together. But there were searchings of heart that day. Their lives were being related to God.

Now the missionary knew that no one understands what goodness means except as it is pictured in personality. So he began now to talk of Jesus, the perfect example of goodness. And as the days went on, the old men gave assenting adoration to Christ. But there were hard things to believe. To these men the doctrine that Jesus taught of forgiveness, even of enemies, was the hardest of all. It took some days to cross that high hill. When the broad rivers of monogamy and abstinence and other new customs were approached, there were some who found that the waters were not wild and dangerous, after all, and they crossed, for a new Companion had come into their lives.

This little story of a real incident in evangelism is given to reveal two things. First, that there is a true relation between what we teach and what the heathen fathers believed. And second, that there is an approach not through the negations and prohibitions but

through the positive truths of our faith. The tendency of many native evangelists especially is to begin with the destructive and legal. Listen to the native preacher; hear him give his view of the gospel. "Thou shalt not be a polygamist. Thou shalt not be a drunkard. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not do this and that." So he too often declaims his gospel—a poor withered creed of negations and prohibitions. One would like to hear him speak more of the positive graces and powers of Christ, till the mark of the church shall be not so much the things it does not do but the things it does—deeds of mercy and forgiveness and service.

That is the witness that makes the greatest evangelist. And every mission will count among its greatest winners of souls those whose spirits are aglow with the worth of Christ, and who in burning words speak of him whose beauty and glory are the greatest condemnation of sin.

I still see Daniel Mtusu, a native preacher whom I loved, standing in vehement denunciation of sin, warning of judgment to come. But that was not the net that brought in his greatest hauls. I see him again, more often, with eyes that glowed with fire, and a face lit up with joyousness, as he spoke of the glory and power of the Lord which had come to him. And that was the time when there was a melting of souls, and the hard ore ran into the molds of God.

DISCIPLINE

One day an evangelist sat by the kraal gate and talked with a group of men. He told them of the way of the gospel. And when he had finished, one old man said, "Ah, if God would only say to us men, 'Keep your plurality of wives and drink your beer,' there's not a man of us but would follow him."

But this is how the devil came to Jesus in the temptation, saying, "All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." And to Africa the temptation is constant. Lower but a little the ethical demands of the gospel, and all will follow Christ. In the olden days, while cruelty and sensuality held sway, it was so easy for the people to be religious. Nay, the religious rites themselves were too often cruel and sensuous. But for the Christian church, purity and love must be her marks. And her glory and evangelism will be found in her Christlikeness.

Yet it is a distressing fact to find that the cause of a great deal of the separatism which has created a hundred and twenty Christian sects in South Africa, has arisen not through emphasis on some neglected doctrine of the Christian faith but through disciplinary action taken against an unworthy member or pastor. In these last years some strange new bodies have appeared in America and crossed to Africa. They have worked largely among people who were already being evangelized, and sometimes they have had the experience of achieving mass movements when thousands were baptized. But as no change of conduct

revealing a Christian standard marked the fervid emotionalism which followed, these movements were only temporary, and created a scandal and a menace to social welfare. Possibly Africa is not peculiar in this. But a good pastor has to exercise constant care that religiousness is expressed in greater ethical harmony with Jesus Christ, and that holiness accompanies Christian profession.

There is real cause for a government to look with suspicion upon a religious ferment which is not properly controlled. Again and again the kind of thing that gives John Buchan his story of *Prester John* has really happened in Africa, and movements which seemed at first to be purely religious have become the enemy of peace and good order. Within the last few years we have seen miserable incidents in South Africa, when fanatical followers of a prophet dashed against the soldiers in a religious faith that no bullet could harm them. The rising in Nyasaland during the Great War, which lasted but for a day yet long enough to express itself in treacherous murder, was led by the pastor of a new Christian sect. The so-called Watch-tower movement in Central Africa led to seditious and murderous acts instigated by the religious leader of the people.

Besides the political danger of sedition, there is always the fact that a too easy profession of Christian faith which is not expressed in higher moral character does immense harm to the witness of the church. At some conferences with native ministers and leaders in

South Africa I asked frequently what most weakened the evangelistic power of the church, and always one of the main causes given was the unworthy lives of some Christians. Some time ago a friendly magistrate sent me a careful letter in which he expressed his considered opinion about the harm done to good government by men who, while professing the Christian faith, and having received the benefits of elementary education under Christian auspices, live loose lives, observing neither the old tribal reverences nor the Christian laws.

Now it is the missionary who knows this best, and who knows how many Christians do not glorify Christ by Christlikeness. The church at home loves to read the story of revivals and of rare Christian characters, and these, thank God, are common in Africa. But they do not read the records of those long painful meetings with the elders, when case after case of unworthiness is dealt with as the church roll is purified. Nay, the very fact of mass movements towards Christ means in a few years a tremendous multiplication of discipline cases, for no pastor can see who are the genuine followers when the whole region is warm with religious fervor. Yet in Africa discipline can be more particular and faithful than in Europe. There is no privacy: what each man and woman does is known to the whole community, and the native leaders in the church have a knowledge of their people far beyond what would be possible to any European body.

There is a tendency in African Christianity to be

dreadfully mechanical and legal in spiritual judgments. It saves thought, and the searching for the mind of the Spirit, if we can say, "Here are the rules: let us follow them." This precedent and that are cited, and this law and that are quoted. So one of the greatest tasks is to maintain spiritual freedom and be bold enough to do as Jesus would do. Can the law of forgiveness be exercised by a church court eager to maintain the highest standard of conduct? Christ's forgiveness is patiently persistent to seventy times seven. It involves a blotting out of remembrance, and carries no disqualifications. If such a line be taken, it can only be when the authorities are very sure that they have the mind of Christ, and are responding to his spirit.

One of the most serious results of discipline within the church is that it is apt to produce reaction and despair. Cut off from church privileges, the sinner is likely to feel himself adrift, and to give himself over entirely to the old paganism. So one of the tasks of the missionary is to guide discipline in such a way that it makes for edification and not for destruction.

It will be recognized that the work of the church does not end with evangelism. It only begins there. Stretching out from this wicket gate lies the pilgrim way. The concern of the missionary will be to see that travelers do not stray into bypaths or lose themselves in Vanity Fair, that they faint not by the way, until at last they arrive at the City of God.

THE PILLARS

Though we have been using the word discipline in the previous section, the reader will have observed that we only gave it its corrective sense, with the implication of penalties. But discipline should have a better meaning. It is associated with discipleship. They are a poor kind of disciple and a poor kind of master whose sole relationships are corrective ones, with penalties overshadowing. The character of the church is not created through inhibitions and punishments. There is a discipline of fellowship with Jesus Christ in which the follower learns to measure a little the depth of richness in him, and by following begins in some degree to imitate him. It is the introduction of Africa to this wonderful company and knowledge and likeness that is the main purpose of the evangelist.

One of the first teachers of the life of the people must be the Word of God. To its translation into the tongues of Africa, and to the training of young Africa to read and understand that Word, the missionaries have given of their best. Hence most missions insist that all the younger members shall be able to read, and the school is an integral part of the church's service. The Bible is the great textbook of African education. At the beginning of last century it was not printed in any of the African dialects. Today the whole or parts are already in two hundred and forty-four different tongues. I do not suppose that a single one of these has attained to the perfection of expression of the English Bible. Usually translation begins as

the work of the European missionary, who is still a stranger to the idioms and rhythm of the African tongue he uses. Then follows a revision with more knowledge, and more native assistance. But I fear that much of the language used is still stilted, and, as Mr. Crawford used to say, "You can hear the creak of the European boots in every word uttered." Yet we must acknowledge that through these printed versions in the tongues of the people a priceless repository of truth has been given to Africa, wherein the seeker may hear the very word of God.

So much time has been occupied by missionaries in the translation of the Bible, and in the pressure of daily duties, that a very insufficient literature has been produced. In most cases there is nothing beyond the Bible which can give to people who have passed out of school a love of reading, or help them to interpret the Bible, and very little which can throw light on the wonderful world we live in. According to one observer, "An intelligent boy in many a mission school must have read every printed page in his language, and could easily carry in one hand the whole of the literary possessions of his tribe."

Yet it is most necessary that the Christian life of Africa should seek not only the highest Christian ethics but also the highest Christian intelligence. For one of the evidences of the new life in Africa is not only the awakening of conscience but the awakening of mind. One has seen again and again light kindled in the dull eyes of old people, and faces that

were heavy with brutishness illumined with responding life when the Lord has come to them; and then begins that search after the greatest of all sciences, the knowledge of God. It is this new intelligence that breaks the bonds of magic, that makes men and women rise from sloth to industry and seek to make better houses and more sanitary dwellings, to cultivate the land more intelligently, and to follow after higher standards of civilization.

When the harbor authorities at Beira determined to build a wharf where ships could be loaded and unloaded in a bay whose tide rose twenty feet, they sent to the Baltic and America for the best timber procurable. But the wharf had scarcely been finished when it collapsed. The dreaded toredo worm had eaten into the wood. Yet the engineers were not defeated. They searched the woods of the Bosi and the Pungwe, and there found the imzimhiti tree growing out of the mud and sand, impervious to the ravages of the ship-worm; and with this indigenous tree they built the wharf which stands today to receive the merchandise of the world.

In this incident there lies a lesson for those who are building the future church in Africa. The white man must ever be a stranger to the land, subject to handicaps of his physical constitution and outlook. But Africa has her own manhood, and it is rejected too often by those who should recognize it and work with it. Hence the aim of true work should be not only to produce Christian character in the lives of Africans who

profess Christ, but to train them to bear the responsibility of evangelizing their own land, and to become leaders of their people. The wide and scattered population, the physical drawbacks, and the strangeness of the thought and speech of Africa, have all made of the African himself the supreme evangelist of his people. Tens of thousands of native teachers and evangelists under European guidance proclaim by word and life the message the missionary has brought, and the spread of Christianity is the result of their service, directly and constantly.

Most missions have set up training-schools for evangelists and teachers, in order that with intelligence and thoroughness they may give their service to the Kingdom. Out of these have come the teachers who carry on the schools and the clergymen who conduct the worship of the church. Africa has not the advantage which Asia has, of a long civilization organized and self-dependent, the nursery of men who have learned to lead and rule. Yet she has shown capacity for carrying responsibility in church and state, and of giving a wise leadership to her people.

One may be allowed to mention two among the great Africans possessing moral and executive capacity. The first is Bishop Ferguson of Liberia. Born in Charleston in 1842, he was baptized by the Roman Catholic Church. When he was only six years of age his family migrated to Liberia, but the father and two children fell victims of tropical fever. Young Samuel Ferguson went to an Anglican school, soon became a teacher, and

then a priest. After serving in the Cape Palmas district he was chosen Bishop of Liberia, and in 1885 he was consecrated in New York. The remaining thirty years of his episcopate were full of energy and ever new endeavor. He founded a labor farm, a collegiate and divinity school, enlarged the girls' school at Cape Mount, built halls, churches, and dwelling houses, roused the spirit of self-support within the church, pressed into the untouched hinterland, reconciled warring tribes, raised the whole moral tone of the government, and, greatest and most significant of all, maintained the standard of Christian ethics within the indigenous church. By 1905 the Bishop of Liberia and his whole staff of clergy, with one exception, were all Africans. All were educated in Liberian schools, and there prepared for the ministry.

The other notable leader was Dr. James E. Kwegyir Aggrey, vice-principal of Achimota College, Gold Coast, who passed away in New York on July 30, 1927. Born in the Gold Coast of an old family of ruling chiefs, he received his education in a Wesleyan school there, and afterwards spent twenty-five years in the United States, studying and teaching in various colleges until he was the possessor of many degrees. His great chance came when he was invited to join the Phelps-Stokes Commission, and with it traveled all over Africa on a great mission of reconciliation. Afterwards he joined the staff of the Achimota College in his native colony. "Apostle of laughter, of the smile which wears down scowls, and the attitude of mind which is the

essence of the Sermon on the Mount," says H. W. Peet, "Aggrey, while glorying to be an African, sought to be a bridge of understanding between his own and other races. I have never known a man who saw more instructively into the minds of others, whatever their race. He thus met each man on his own ground. Above all, he was a great Christian."

With the background of ten millions of American Negroes, many of whom have shown leadership and executive powers of no mean order, the question naturally arises whether among them are not vast unused resources for the evangelization of Africa. Many of the American societies have largely used their black countrymen, especially in the parts of West Africa unhealthy for white men, and many American Negroes have worked in South Africa. But their disabilities are much the same as the white man's. They are not immune to African diseases, and indeed suffer from them more than do the white men, perhaps as a result of taking fewer precautions. The languages of Africa are as unfamiliar to them as to the white man. And accustomed as they are to Western civilization, the expense of their maintenance is no less than that of the European. Unfortunately, owing to a rather tragic history, most African governments put difficulties in the way of sending American Negroes to Africa.

When the whole question was frankly discussed at the conference at Le Zoute, certain recommendations were made which may have influence on missionary societies and governments and may open a way for the fuller

utilization of this source of power. It was felt that far greater use should be made of the American Negro, who is naturally eager to help in the reclamation of the land of his origin, and that white missionaries should be eager to welcome qualified Negroes. But owing to the delicacy of interracial relations the greatest care should be exercised in the choice of men, and those who go should work under the auspices of recognized and well-established societies. Negro missionaries are recommended to observe the principles of missionary comity, and especially they should give their attention to unevangelized districts. When care like this is taken to get the proper kind of missionary, and to cooperate with other existing missions, the International Missionary Council is prepared to use its friendly offices to secure the admission of American Negroes to colonies which now put difficulties in the way of their coming.

SERVICE

Nothing more dramatic and significant has happened in the history of African missions than the awakening which came out of the preaching of the "Prophet Harris" in the French colony of the Ivory Coast.

There have been movements, such as those of the Watch-tower, which led to the baptism of thousands, but they were ethically evil and unchristian, passing in a few years into a revolt against the Christian standards of the church, and into bitterness towards those who had been the true evangelists of Christ. Harris's work was amongst the unevangelized heathen, and roused a

great thirst for instruction in the way of God. The Methodist church, which received the call of the waiting thousands, has observed no return to paganism, but only eager and self-denying efforts on the part of the people to do all that their slight knowledge demanded, and a thrilling response to the accredited teachers who at last were sent to them.

Harris himself seemed at first rather an illusive and mythical figure, but he is still alive, an old man living on his own plot of land in Liberia and occasionally going forth to preach. He is a Kroo native, who had worked on the steamers and had learned a little about Christ at a Methodist church at Tinabau. There he was received as a catechumen, and began to learn to read. Somewhere about 1913 he visited the Ivory Coast. He could not speak the language of the people, but he used pidgin-English, which was translated into the local dialect. His teaching was of the simplest. He called on the people to renounce fetich worship, and to believe in the one true God and Savior who died upon the cross, to renounce all evil habits and customs, and to live good lives.

Passing through village after village in utter simplicity of life, he taught any who would resort to him the little that he knew. When people renounced heathenism and professed their desire to follow God, he baptized them with water from the little calabash he carried, and bade them observe the Sabbath, seek to know the teaching of the Bible, and meet together for worship.

His teaching had a wonderful response. Chiefs of villages hewed down the groves of the juju, and publicly burned the hideous idols. Simple churches were built, where the people gathered about an open English or French Bible which they purchased but could not read, and made their prayer to God. Tens of thousands followed the simple doctrine that Harris taught, and though the French government looked with great suspicion on the movement, and in various ways sought to thwart it, these unshepherded and ignorant seekers persisted in their search until the Wesleyans sent white teachers to instruct them.

When at last the missionaries arrived, they found that tens of thousands waited to respond to the full declaration of the gospel, and to learn in school to read so that the Bible might have meaning for them. It should be added that through all the success of his work until he was deported by the French, Harris maintained a clean and simple life, without the stain of suspicion that he sought honor or wealth for himself. When grateful chiefs brought to him large presents he refused them, content to receive food and lodging as his sole reward.

Although Harris's work has attained a success and permanence far beyond that of any other native evangelist, so far as is known, it has been repeated in lesser degree again and again. Dr. Elmslie tells of a village where he found a church built, and the people assembling for worship every morning as well as on the Sabbath day. They had no teacher, and met in silence,

only to disperse in silence. For someone had carried them news of the evangel that had been received in other villages, and of how the people worshiped. These villagers sent again and again requests for teachers, but at that time none were available. So they built their house of God and waited in expectation, until at last one came to open up to them the Word of Life.

Wider than the Europeans' influence and teaching has been the evangelism of the unofficial messengers who, traveling far in search of work, have carried the gospel with them. I have met with Christian lads who, two thousand miles away from home and in a strange land, still meet together to sing their hymns to God and to hear the Word of Life expounded. Some had sadly wandered from the path, but others, amidst terrible allurements, had persistently followed their Lord, and witnessed of him to the heathen.

Another form of service that we must look for in a healthy indigenous church is liberality. Some people even at home find it easy to give witness but very difficult to give money. Yet one of the signs of a true dedication to God is that we say, "The silver and the gold are his." Now African Christianity is full of dramatic instances of marvelous liberality. It is hard to put money values on the gifts of Africans. For a shilling from a working man at home who earns two pounds a week is not the same thing as a shilling from an African who earns five shillings a month. Yet we read the wonderful story of the building of the Blythswood Institution in South Africa. It was founded in

1877 by the Fingoes, who contributed about five thousand dollars in small coins to start it, and who exceeded this sum on two other occasions. The Baganda gave about eighty-five thousand dollars towards the rebuilding of their cathedral. The church on the Gold Coast contributed in one year more than sixty thousand dollars towards the ordinary expenses of the work.

When the Wesleyan deputy visited the churches which the prophet Harris had founded, he saw one church which he reckoned would have cost ten thousand dollars in European money to build. I write this sentence on my return from speaking in a working-class church in Glasgow, where I was surprised in looking over the records to see that among the initial contributions which helped to erect the building fifty years ago is a gift of thirty-four pounds from some Kaffir Christians in South Africa. They had sent this handsome donation because the man who was to be the minister there had been a missionary in South Africa.

But the true index of liberality is not to be sought for in church accounts. It was characteristic of African society before Christianity appeared. And we shall be doing the people a wrong if we discourage its ordinary social expression that we may tabulate larger gifts in ecclesiastical schedules. Thus it is better that there should be no orphans, because the fatherless are the care of their own relatives, than that there should be institutional orphanages supported by the liberality of the church; and better that there should be no poor, because the village accepts responsibility for its own

helpless ones, than that there should be workhouses supported by the state. In other words, the society that in unorganized ways maintains the true spirit of generosity by spontaneous service, is more healthy and Christlike than the society which gives in order to delegate that service to others.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIANITY AND LIFE

I KNEW an elder in a Glasgow church who was a great servant of Christ. He conducted a large Sunday school, and preached much in the open air, and he was a baker by trade. Once he told me how he was traveling in a railway train when a fervid lady passenger asked him bluntly, "Are you a Christian, sir?" He did not resent her question, and witnessed that he was. She thanked God for this, and said to him, "What work are you doing for the Master?"

"I bake," he replied.

"Ah, I did not ask about your trade, but what service you give to him who redeemed you?"

"I bake, madam," he again answered.

She was a bit nettled at his apparent obtuseness, and urged again, "I mean, how are you seeking to glorify Christ and spread his gospel?"

But he only answered, "I bake, madam."

Now his reply was sincere, and went to the root of the true conception of Christianity, which makes common things holy, and in daily service finds the greatest expression of a life's devotion. For the church of Christ whose influence is limited to the worship of the sanctuary, and whose only holy day is Sunday, is not fulfilling the purpose for which it was created. The

shame of religion is that so often it has been confined in a closely walled compartment from which there is no radiation of light or heat.

We used to see pictures of the pious Negro in the Southern states of America sitting in his ramshackle village reading his Bible, singing hymns, and crying hallelujah while his cotton patch was full of weeds, and his township going to pieces. And there have been many caricatures of the African Christian whose religion has no ethical expression. One journalist is foolish enough to say in his travel volume that when he hears the African singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers," he buttons up his pockets. The African had good reason to look up the title-deeds of his land when the same Christian journalist came along.

I have no doubt that there has been cause enough for these sneers. The lop-sided Christian is not more unknown in Africa than he is in Europe. And I have even read in newspapers of white men who made a brave profession of Christianity and who yet turned out to be criminals. But my conception of what European Christianity might be is not formed from its failures, but from my adoring faith in Christ the Savior. So would I form my conception of how he can express himself in the African's life.

Psychologists argue about the brain capacity of the black man as compared with that of the white man. But no missionary need compare the races when he speaks of human capacity for God, and God's capacity for saving men to the uttermost. If men like St. Paul

can glory in redemption coming to them, experience tells them that the same salvation is available for the rudest barbarian. St. Paul's conception of the reach of the gospel was renewal after the image of God for barbarian, Scythian, bond or free. For all of Christ may be expressed in every one (*Col.* 3:10).

That is the faith we have as we study this book, and this chapter in particular. We make no claim that African Christianity has attained to the ideal, but we wish to see how Christ may take all the African's life and bring it into harmony with his spirit.

FAMILY LIFE

It is on the home that Christian society must be built. But home as we understand it is a new thing for Africa, and comes from the Christian conception of marriage and purity.

In spite of all that we have said of the magical sanctions which preserve a comparatively high fidelity between husband and wife in primitive African society, the standards of social purity are shockingly low. The cases that demand most of the attention of the native and magisterial courts are breaches of the seventh commandment. Apart from these transgressions of the civil law, in most tribes the marriage tie is of the loosest. Among the Bantu of South Africa the heavy bride-price which a man must pay to his father-in-law delays marriage, and also makes the marriage more binding. But as we go among the more undeveloped nations we find that there is little given or received

which cannot soon be collected again, and marriage is easily and frequently dissolved.

Polygamy is the rule of African society. The question as to what should be the attitude of the church to polygamous unions of old standing has not yet found a universal solution. Some will not receive into the church converts who remain polygamists; others feel that what has been socially approved for so long cannot be broken without grievous hurt to the wives, and so would receive the converted polygamist. All that the Le Zoute conference [1] could say in its resolutions, with the approval of everyone, was "that Christian society must be built on Christian family life, and that the ideal of the Christian family life can only be realized in monogamy." In polygamy there can be no family life, and therefore no home. Every child of a polygamous union is well aware of the jealousies and dispeace that reign, and of the disabilities which come to such a menage.

Today polygamy is gradually fading away. The sex proportions of the population make it an impossibility for many to have more than one wife. For wars that killed off the men, and slavery which captured women, have ceased. But more than that, the Christian leaven is at work, and all over Africa men are accepting the Christian standards of life.

I have heard white men say that monogamy is unsuitable for the African, and must lead to unchastity.

[1] International Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa held at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14-21, 1926.

But the facts controvert this assertion. Every Christian church can record numbers of happy, continuing, and faithful Christian homes where one wife, one mother, reigns. The growth of population has been much greater under monogamy than under the old order, and statistics have been collected which prove that infant mortality is less in the Christian home than in the polygamous family, and that more children are reared by the mother.

Apart from the question of the parents' rule of life, the social impurity of the young in Africa is a horror to those who know. One need not lead the student into the social abominations which are described in any book on African ethnology. It is sufficient to say that those standards of purity which we expect to find among Western children are unknown to pagan Africa. I well remember that on my first furlough, as a young bachelor, I visited a Christian home in Natal and found there a number of British girls. Entering that Christian home, after the isolated life I had been living among the grown-ups and children of Central Africa, was like passing out of the smells of hell into the cleanness and purity of heaven.

Many tribes in Africa have established ceremonies for young people when they come to puberty. Most of these initiation schools are so evil that they bestialize all those who pass through them. Yet there they drink in the spirit of the tribe, and pass out of adolescence into manhood and womanhood. Because of the evil that is associated with them most missionaries

condemn these ceremonies unreservedly. But an interesting attempt is being made by others to create a Christian initiation ceremony, which will teach young people the Christian views of sex, and save them from the contamination of pagan instruction.

Where all the young lads of a village live by themselves, and the unmarried girls by themselves, there can be no parental oversight and control. Today, as the idea of the Christian home grows, you will find the whole family under one roof, with the parents as the teachers of the young.

I once spent a night in a native village where drunken revelry made the hours hideous, and I watched the children at their dance and play. As they warmed to the game, old women entered the ring and incited them to greater and greater disorder and posturing. One returned to one's tent with a sense of the loathsomeness of the atmosphere in which these children were being reared.

Next night I camped outside a Christian teacher's house. When bedtime came I could hear through the thin walls the father gathering his children for family prayers. I listened to them reading Scripture together, and to the father's exposition. I heard them sing a little hymn to Christ, and the father lead his family in prayer. And as the children scattered to their rooms, saying to their parents, "Sleep well," I thanked God that here were being set the true foundations on which the social walls of a Christian society could be built.

INDUSTRY

Some people in their detestation of our industrialized civilization would protest against our destroying the simplicity of the African barbarian's life. They picture to themselves happy innocent people lying at peace under the shade of their banana groves, and stretching forth their hands to the abundance that tropical nature gives. And they say, "Why disturb them, and make them feel the pressing anxiety of our heated, swift life?"

But the real picture is very different from the romantic one. Starvation, dirt and disease are characteristic of the primitive native village. The naked savage is scarred with ulcers healed or unhealed. His romantic village, without sanitation, smells badly, and is full of flies and rats; his huts are dark, comfortless places full of vermin. Epidemics scourge the population and take their toll of life.

Idleness is prevalent, a heritage of the past when war was the great industry and ordinary tasks were performed by captured slaves, by serfs, or by overburdened women. There was then no logical occasion for industriousness, and no reward for it. With the white man came the new idea of the value of labor, an idea which was always a vital part of the missionary's message. Yet some would accuse the missionary of being the friend of indolence. "Teach the native to work" is the most popular of all definitions of approved evangelization. But one would like to know for whom he is to work. The man who talks like this is only

thinking of securing an African labor supply for the white man. The development of native industries, which is apt to thin the labor supply for white service, is not pleasing to the gospel of work. Yet every man who believes in the full manifestation of the evangel in life must believe that industry is a necessary evidence of true Christianity. I hold that the history of evangelization proves that no force is so productive of an honest and enriching industry as faith in Christ. It has proved more potent than guns to turn a people from war to peace.

I have worked among a people who at one time lived for war and plunder. Their glory was in the exploits of their fighting regiments. They became the terror of the tribes of Nyasaland. Livingstone speaks of the devastation these wild Mazitu caused. Rumors came home that he had been murdered by them. To-day we call them the Abangoni. To them came the messengers of the gospel before trade or the British government had penetrated. Patiently through dark and threatening days Dr. Elmslie and his colleagues taught and preached, till one was privileged to see the day when the British governor came, without a soldier or policeman, and met the chiefs and men of the tribe in public. Thousands were there, all armed, not for war but for display. Standing with a mission teacher as his interpreter, and with the missionaries as his friends and the friends of the people, the governor spoke. After an hour's frank talk, amid the acclamation of the great throng, the "wild Abangoni" came un-

der ordered and settled government. That pacification cost not a penny of the taxpayers' money, not a drop of blood. And at the end of the day the governor sent us a note to declare that this dramatic triumph was solely due to the patient service of the mission. From that day twenty-five years ago to this, no trouble or disturbance has come from this once terrible people, for their spirit and standards of appeal have changed. Ask even the heathen what changed them, and they will answer, "The Word."

Perhaps one of the greatest witnesses to "the Word" was the daily demonstration in the tribe that industry is more profitable than war, and brings larger rewards. For with every step of penetration that the gospel made, a new spirit of industry had been created. So most missionary societies in Africa use work as one of their first evangelists. To create the houses and comfort that are necessary for civilized life, a missionary must needs work and must teach the people to work with him. Each day you will find the pioneer beginning the day's work with worship, thereby giving a Christian atmosphere to commonplace-looking duty.

As he leads the simple folk into regular industry, the missionary is creating the character and intelligence that provide a seed-bed for the gospel. Honesty, neatness, and intelligence are developed by the overseer. But it will at once be recognized that conscientious supervision is necessary if these lessons are to be taught. If workers are allowed to cheat the master of the time which should be given to him, dishonesty and slyness

will be taught. If the master is a careless worker, indifferent as to whether the job is good or bad, and allowing disorder, untidiness and not neatness will be taught. If all he asks from his men is work such as beasts of burden can give, he will not develop intelligence. The missionary must be a Christian disciplinarian, in the true meaning of the word; not as a martinet, but as a teacher who faithfully uses his opportunity to encourage the Christian virtues, and to suppress indolence, dishonesty and carelessness.

Work by itself is not an evangelist. There is the record of Bishop Colenso's attempt to produce good journeymen workers without giving them religion; the results were moral and economic failure. But work used as a practical demonstration of what the gospel implies is more powerful than many words. As one reviews the progress of Africa out of war into peace, out of slave labor into free wage-earning industry, one sees the gospel bearing fruit in the advancing standards of civilization.

I know no place where the impetus that Christianity gives to better housing can better be seen today than along some parts of the Lake Nyasa shores. There but a generation ago the most primitive huts, and these surrounded by defensive stockades, were the only type of African house. Now you will look in vain for the village protected from the assault of men. But you will see a continuous line of villages, with many of the houses neat and substantial. Now and again a square house partially built of brick will appear. The

others are made of poles and bamboos plastered with mud; some are rectangular cottages after the European model, others are enlarged round houses after the African style. In many you will find swinging doors, glazed windows, chimneys, and three or more rooms. When you enter you will find mats on the floor, tables and chairs, and a library of books. And all these improvements are made by African hands.

For Christianity has roused ambition and intelligence which express themselves in handicraft. Where practical demonstrations and systematic teaching of intelligent labor have been carried through, you will find that the progress of the land is the result of the service of the Africans themselves. At the Currie Institute in Angola the mornings are spent in the classrooms, and in the afternoons the pupils are engaged in trades and agriculture. The trades include brick and tile-making, masonry and carpentry, road-making, tailoring. As the students graduate and go forth to their life work these industries learned in school become their means of livelihood, and one of the best instruments for raising the civilization of their people. At the American Methodist mission in Southern Rhodesia the same curriculum will be found, with similar results. At Inanda and Amanzimtoti in Natal there are courses for the pupils in various civilized trades and in native handcraft. The American Presbyterian mission on the Congo has one industrial school separate from the day school, where pupils work for six hours in the morning and attend school for two hours in the afternoon.

Some are employed in the making and repairing of furniture. On the completion of three years of training they receive a set of tools and go forth to work at their trade. Shoemaking, blacksmithing, broom-making, ivory carving, printing, brick- and tile-making, are among the industries taught.

The same story can be repeated all over Africa. Houses of brick and stone are being built, and it is Africans who mold the bricks, hew the stones, and do the building. Trained African carpenters make the roofing and doors and windows, and furnish the interiors. Tens of thousands of books, pamphlets, and newspapers are being printed for the increasing number of readers, and African compositors, printers, and bookbinders produce them. Steamers and trains are run by African engineers, and motor cars are driven by African drivers. African clerks and typists fill the offices; African telegraphists send on your messages; African interpreters and foremen ease the white man's work. African cooks and house servants feed the European and look after his comfort. And in a thousand ways Africa is passing out of indolent and unprogressive barbarism into advancing and enriched civilization. To all this advance nothing has made so great a contribution as the work of the Christian missionary, and the impulse that comes from the life and standards of the Christian faith.

AGRICULTURE

The African is essentially a man of the soil. Industrialism, with its tendency to gather populations into large towns, and to buy from outside sources the food necessary for the maintenance of life, was unknown to Africa before the white man came into the country. But now Africa's dependence on other sources is growing greater every year. Yet even with the growth of industrial centers like Johannesburg or Cape Town, the drift of natives into the towns is not a settlement of permanent city-dwellers so much as of temporary wage-earners, whose ambition is to get back to their village life as soon as possible.

Until recent years there were no exports of economic crops from Africa to world markets. The last twenty years, however, have seen an enormous development in that direction. Yet through all the centuries Africa maintained her own great population from her own resources, and generally each community was independent of another, although in West Africa the system of markets and the bartering of food stuffs has obtained for some time back. The power of each community to provide for its own needs was made possible by the fact that there was plenty of land available for the use of the population. The present drift of landless folk to the towns in South Africa is due to the severe land hunger that has been created through the increase of the population, and the huge amount of territory that is now in the hands of the white farmer.

Africa is but thinly populated. While England and

Wales carry about six hundred and fifty to the square mile, and Belgium twelve hundred, Nigeria has eighteen million souls for an area of three hundred and sixty thousand square miles, or fifty to the square mile; Nyasaland has thirty-one to the square mile, and Northern Rhodesia but three to the square mile. Now the proportion of these lands which can be cultivated is fairly high. Thus it is reckoned that in Kenya the population is about forty-two to the square mile of land capable of production, in Tanganyika about fourteen, in Northern Rhodesia three, and so on. And at the same time possibly about one acre of cultivated land produces enough food for a single person. In other words, the land suitable for cultivation could bear a population of six hundred and forty to the square mile, whereas, as a matter of fact, apart from the island of Zanzibar, it only bears at the most one-fifteenth of what it could carry.

That proportion is one of the essential and determining factors in native agriculture. For though African methods of cultivation reveal a wonderful knowledge of what is necessary for food production, the methods themselves are very wasteful, and cannot be pursued where there is any scarcity of land.

The African villager selects the plot of ground that he would open, and then proceeds to cut down the bush or trees that cover it. He lops off the branches of each tree, heaps them about the trunk, and leaves them to dry thoroughly in the sun. When he sees the clouds

gathering for the rainy season he burns the dry wood which covers all the soil. Then the rains come, washing into the soil a quantity of mineral fertilizer. The first year or two, if the rains are good, produce splendid crops, but each succeeding year sees their value decreasing as the land becomes impoverished. Then the farmer selects a new patch of forest land and repeats the process, leaving his old field to lie fallow for many years, while the bush grows and develops into young trees, and the earth recovers in some fashion its old fertility. Twenty years or more later he may return to his former garden. That is the primitive way of letting land rest and recover. It often leads to tremendous deforestation, a great erosion of the land, the washing away of all the humus, and perhaps the permanent sterility of large areas.

There are isolated tribes among whom a distinct advance on the more primitive methods is found. For example, the Watusi of Urundi and the Wachagga at Kilimanjaro use the streams for irrigation, and fertilize their fields with the manure of cattle and goats, and with ashes and sweepings.

Necessity and experience have taught lessons in agriculture which make the skilled white farmer look with respect on the African cultivator, once he understands the native methods. The African has good judgment in the selection of the proper grain for the suitable soil. His method of ridge-planting preserves the roots from being water-logged, insures a better

seed-bed, and saves from the ravages of termites. His change of soil and system of rotation keep down the harmful bacteria and insects that vex the European farmer. The use of the hoe gives finer cultivation than the plough can, and allows him to cultivate the hillsides and pockets of good earth where the plough would not be serviceable.

Today new necessities are compelling Africa to adopt new methods. European administrations, keen to preserve the rivers and water supply from the effects of deforestation, and valuable timber from destruction, put limits on the felling of trees by the farmer. Large tracts of land have been sold to white settlers, narrowing the acreage available for the native. The European farmer, too, does not care to see the land he has bought, and on which villagers live as his tenants, impoverished for the future.

The question arises, What are missions and Christian teaching doing to improve the style of agriculture, and to demonstrate that the Christian should be so good a farmer that his use of God's earth should not impoverish the soil but should enrich and replenish it?

I am not sure that missions have sufficiently recognized the value of this essential service. Far more attention has been paid to such arts as printing, building, and carpentry than to agriculture, the real calling of every African. On the other hand, no one has paid so much attention to native cultivation as the missionary. Traders, too, have raised through native labor enormous crops for the market, and today both gov-

ernments [2] and traders are turning their attention to native cultivation of crops for exportation.

Fifty per cent of the world's cocoa is grown in the Gold Coast, and the first cocoa plant was brought to the colony by a missionary. In the mission garden at Blantyre a coffee tree, brought from Kew, was planted and flourished. From that tree all the great coffee plantations received their seed. A missionary-trader, Mr. John Moir, was successful in keeping alive a tea shrub at Blantyre, and the great tea plantations around Mlanje were born of that tree. Cotton cultivation, which brings to Uganda an annual revenue of between two and three million pounds, has developed out of the plants introduced by a British missionary.

A missionary on the Congo told me how he saw a breadfruit tree growing in a mission garden in Calabar. It had been brought to Africa from Jamaica. The missionary took several slips to the Congo and planted them. Today one of the great native foods in Congo and West Africa is the breadfruit which these missionaries introduced.

At Blantyre Mission in Nyasaland a very rich and lovely garden has been the training-school for native agriculturists. The mission garden used to sell great quantities of fruits and European vegetables to the white and Indian settlers in the township and round

[2] Much could be added of the increasingly important service that some governments are giving in fostering better native agriculture, and in improving the stock of the country, though, unfortunately, much more attention is paid by the agricultural and veterinary departments to the valuable European farms than to the simpler yet essential needs of the native agriculturists and cattle owners.

about. Today they sell none, because the Africans whom they trained are the market gardeners of the community. One of those wonderful Chinese cultivators appeared in the Blantyre region recently to open a market garden. He could cultivate intensively and live cheaply, but in a year he had to go. There was no room for him, for he could not compete with African gardeners. It was like a Jew going to Aberdeen!

Many years ago on my way to Livingstonia Institution I passed through a valley, wild, tree-covered, uncultivated, without a single village. I passed that way twenty years after, and found that with peaceable settlement the natives had returned, and had built their villages on the hillsides of that valley. For hours I walked alongside of continuous fields, some irrigated, all bearing heavy crops of beans, maize, sorghum, cassava, potatoes. Here and there were great clumps of bananas, some peach trees in glorious blossom, lemon trees, mangoes and other fruits. All these cultivators had learned their lessons, had received their seeds, and had found the market for their surplus crops, at the great Institution not many miles away.

Many instances could be given of a new emphasis which missions are laying on the importance of improving agriculture. In one of the American mission stations on the Congo there are thirty-four families settled, each of whom is given a garden of two and a half acres for the raising of vegetables for its own support. Methods are carefully supervised and accounts are

kept. The women attend school two or three hours a day and are taught, besides the Bible and other reading, household activities, gardening, raising of chickens and rabbits, and the care of goats. Another station is noted for the cultivation of some of the typical fruit trees of the country—orange and mango and palm—and an abundance of vegetables and flowers.

One of the best results of the Phelps-Stokes Commission has been to intensify the attention which is given to the teaching of agriculture in schools. This is bound to have an influence on village agriculture. So great results have followed the demonstration schools among the American Negroes that both governments and missions are now willing to develop this kind of teaching.

By means of experimental farms, by demonstrations by the missionary in his own garden and fields, by constant advice and stimulus in school and in church, lessons are being taught which help the people to produce more food and better, to improve their stock, and to exhibit the results of a new intelligence and a greater industry which have come from Christian teaching. Yet these are but the beginning. A long way has still to be traveled before Africa can make the best use of God's peculiar gift to her people. It must be remembered that methods that have proved suitable to Europe and America may fail completely in Africa, and that no change should be introduced until the native is able to accept the new responsibilities which are involved.

HEALTH

Christianity gives a new sacredness to the human body, the temple of the Holy Ghost. The redemptive work of Jesus did not overlook the bodily ailments of men, but in sympathy and in power he healed people's sicknesses and diseases. And when he sent his disciples forth it was to preach the gospel and to heal the sick. Therefore we may expect that the church of Christ has peculiar gifts to bring for the building up and preservation of health.

It is the wastage of infant life that first startles the missionary with its awful import. In Britain and America infant mortality may lie somewhere between sixty and a hundred per thousand, and this figure demands all kinds of effort to train mothers, care for the children, and improve sanitary and working conditions, for we know it is unnecessarily high. But it is startling to read that in Africa the death-rate ranges from one-third to three-fourths of the children born. These are guesses made on very imperfect information. Yet here is one proved record from Tanganyika Territory. Figures were gathered from two hundred and eighty-five wives of thirty-four chiefs, which show that only four hundred and five infants survived out of seven hundred and seven born.

It might be expected that the adults who grew out of this sifting would be the strongest of mankind. But, again, the mortality among adults is possibly three or four times as great as in Britain and America.

This does not surprise those who remember the awful record of deaths among white men who have gone to Africa. But whatever may have been the causes of the heavy toll on them, there is no need for the same toll being taken of African life, for what slew the whites is not what slays the Africans. Today we know much about the sources of tropical diseases, though to the generation that is gone they were a hidden mystery. The result of our knowledge is a greatly improved health record for the instructed Westerner. In Belgian Congo the death-rate among Europeans was 8.393 per cent in 1900, while in 1924 it had fallen to 1.352. Knowledge and correct treatment made the difference. Where these are not available for the African the diseases and deaths are increasing, and in some places the population is decreasing. What concerns us most is the poor condition of the average African. In Britain the war revealed that too large a part of the population was classed as C3. But, says Dr. Gilks, "if we were to apply the same standard of health to the native population of Africa, it would be found to be somewhere towards the end of the alphabet."

What are the causes of this poor health? First, ignorance, especially in the matter of caring for children; then, insufficient and unsuitable food, bad water, unclean clothing, unventilated and verminous houses, insanitary villages, dangerous insects, such as the mosquito carrying malaria, the tsetse carrying sleeping sickness, the tanpan bug carrying severe fevers; and last,

those contagious and infectious diseases which come with such virulence upon a people whose blood has not yet learned to resist their attack.

What knowledge has the African with which to defend himself against such devastating enemies? First, there are the herbalists. In every tribe are men and women who have some knowledge of a herb which can meet certain types of disease. Many of these herbs may be true remedies, not to be despised; the difficulty is that the dispenser has no knowledge of quantities, and of the strength of the drug he mixes, and no assurance that the disease he treats is the disease which his medicine can help. Some there are who have a wonderful knowledge of the use of cupping, and a gift of bone-setting is to be found among certain experts. But disease that does not yield to such treatment is associated with the action of the spirits. Then comes the opportunity of what we call the medicine-man or witch-doctor. With dancing and drumming he exorcises the demons, sometimes successfully, because he plays on the faith of the people, more often with the worst results for the emaciated and worn invalid.

At best, disease has few hurdles to cross as it runs its course. What good is all this excitement, or these herbs, when the drinking water of the village is contaminated, or the hut is full of the germs of phthisis, or the tsetse carries sleeping sickness?

Here is the need and opportunity for the Christian church to use the science that God has given men to fight disease, and to save a people. So medicine has

become a great evangelist and interpreter of the gospel of Christ. Whether exercised by Christian believers or not, the pure philanthropy of medical and surgical skill carries the message of the Kingdom in relieving pain, in giving health to the sick, and in beating back disease. But when added to skill there is sympathy, and an ardent desire to enter with the message of the gospel the doors that gratitude has opened, the medical missionary becomes one of the greatest evangelists.

In Africa seventy different missionary societies have qualified doctors as agents; but every missionary is compelled to use what knowledge he or she has to help the suffering, and to teach the laws of health. Both in Europe and America there are medical schools which give some elementary training to missionaries who have not been able to take a full medical course, and what they have taught has been of immense service to Africa.

African missions require the finest trained doctors and surgeons, because of the scourging diseases which are prevalent, and because of the isolation of the doctors from all other skilled help. There are a hundred and forty-two men physicians and fifteen women in the missionary force, and two hundred and eighty-two nurses—a very inadequate number for the great area that the missions cover. Most doctors have a hospital attached to their work. Altogether there are a hundred and thirty-six hospitals, some very small and primitive. The greatest missionary hospital is at Mengo, in Uganda, with three hundred and six beds. In one year

nearly five thousand in-patients were treated, and there were a hundred and twenty thousand out-patient attendances. Connected with this hospital are six dispensaries lying at varying distances of from twenty to a hundred and twenty miles from Mengo.

In Africa the medical training of natives is in a very backward condition. Only eight African doctors serve with the missions, and these have all been trained in medical schools overseas. At last there is a movement to create schools in Africa where her own sons may get the necessary training. The governments in West Africa are preparing for a united medical school, and in South Africa a beginning has been made at Lovedale, and at Fort Hare, where some students are now taking the first two years of the professional course which qualifies for a British degree.

Something is already being done, however, to train nurses and hospital assistants, as at Blantyre in Nyasaland, Lovedale in South Africa, Yakusu in Belgian Congo, Mengo in Uganda, and at a few other centers. At Mengo a maternity school has been erected which already has done most useful work, but the Hospital Commission of South Africa reported to government last year that there are no trained native maternity nurses in the whole of the Union.

In addition to all that has been recorded here of missionary service for health, it should be remembered that all the colonies spend considerable grants in medical work, and have staffs of skilled white doctors caring for the health of the people. Belgian Congo has in

hand a most promising plan of establishing schools for the training of native medical workers, and has wisely invited the cooperation of both Roman and evangelical missions.

The results of all this service are abundant, and can be traced in lives saved, in pain relieved, in epidemics stayed, and in a growing sense of what can be done to preserve health. Thus a government officer reports of the work of medical missions in Uganda: "In the last two years the country has been relatively free from grave epidemics of plague, smallpox, cerebro-spinal meningitis, and influenza, all of which diseases are endemic."

One of the most interesting developments of recent years has been the founding of leper colonies where new treatment has brought new hope to the most pathetic of all sufferers. Throughout Africa leprosy is found, sometimes in greater and sometimes in less degree. There are belts where the incidence of leprosy is as high as five or ten per thousand of the population, and a few spots where as many as ten to twenty per cent are so afflicted.

But the physical welfare of Africa is not going to be advanced by the building of hospitals so much as by preventive methods, and these are best carried through by systematic teaching. No man has done more to teach the common citizen the way to prevent disease than Dr. M'Vicar of the Victoria Hospital, Lovedale. His Health Society and conferences and magazine are spreading the knowledge which will help the South

African native to combat the three great new diseases which are spreading so rapidly in his country—phthisis, enteric, and syphilis.

So we have seen that the gospel of Christ to Africa is penetrating the life of the people, and is leading them into more enriching industry, into a more productive agriculture, and into healthier lives. Other manifestations will be seen later, such as greater intelligence and all those aspirations for social and national advancement which come from awakening manhood and womanhood. For the aim of all the service of the Kingdom is to create a complete harmony of life, in which there are no discords, for nothing is outside the obedience of Christ.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION FOR LIFE

Long blasts from a kudu horn are floating through the cool morning air, and the young life of the village is stirring into motion. Soon the little paths that wind through the bush from the encircling villages are full of lads and girls trotting with much noise and shouting towards the school that serves the district. You follow the stream and find yourself at length standing before a rectangular building of poles and mud, thatched with grass. No door fits the opening that gives entrance, and no glass the windows that give light. The floor is beaten mud, and the seats are adzed poles resting on forked sticks. But there is the beginning of the school which is to be the biggest pioneer of the gospel and of an intelligent civilization.

THE BUSH SCHOOL

When you go to South Africa, or some parts of the West Coast where missionary work is a century old and government gives large grants, you find that the schoolhouse is a more elaborate place, and the repair and amenities of the building are a care to be scrupulously exercised or the inspector will have something overwhelming to say.

But this morning we are in the heart of Africa,

where life is still very simple. So the pupils who gather in the cleared space are not too well assorted. Married men and women stand in the more or less straight rows, along with little boys and girls. And some of the pupils have but two or three inches of discolored calico as their sole dress.

Two or three lads dressed in neat white garments move up and down the ranks of the pupils, marshaling them for orderly entrance into the school. When all are seated the day's work begins with the singing of a hymn, which is often the first Christian habit the African learns. For singing is in the fiber of his nature. The Prophet Harris left as the first visible ritual of his message the singing of hymns, though no words were yet attached to the tunes that the converts imperfectly learned. Then comes prayer, and then the exposition of a passage of Scripture.

Now it is on that opening part of the school day that the African school system is built. Lessons of many types are given afterwards—arithmetic, reading, writing, etc. Government and other interested bodies could give these. Yet such would not be the education that Africa requires. For all that she is learning today will not assure a safe and progressive civilization unless the main product of education be character, and character is built on moral and spiritual foundations. This is why governments in Africa recognize that school work, and especially primary school work, must be the particular service of missions, for they alone can give the religious teaching which builds character.

It is well that we remind ourselves of the primary importance of this first lesson, and see that it is related to everything that is afterwards done in school. For while government rightly insists that the standard of the teaching of the secular subjects be more and more scientific and thorough, and regulates its grants by these attainments, in the case of religious teaching there is nothing but the sense of its paramount importance to stimulate teachers to raise it to its highest efficiency. In normal schools there is sometimes little skill and thought given to the training of the teacher in methods of teaching religion, while the day is packed with the pressure of how to teach the secular subjects.

But of course the teacher cannot teach what makes for character unless he has character himself, nor can he teach religion unless he has a living faith. Therefore great care is taken, when selecting lads to be teachers, to ensure that, however modest their educational attainments may be, at least they will be well in advance of village life in knowledge of Christ, and in showing some obedience to him.

The scientific pedagogue may scorn the simplicity of the village teacher. But for pioneering education he is invaluable, and the church and commerce and administration owe more to him than can be counted. There he stands in school among his pupils, and lives among the villagers, one of themselves, yet ahead of them on a path that leads onwards. He has learned cleanliness and self-respect, and shows it by ablutions and in his simple dress. He has been emancipated from

magical dreads, and has found the guide through the maze of life in the fatherly goodness of God. The printed book speaks to him, and he can write in a fair hand. Arithmetic has made him an arbiter in many cases of division and addition which might lead to dispute. He prays, and believes that it is God, not the spirit of the dead, who hears and answers. These attainments, though so slight, make him a teacher by every act and attitude of life.

In our hurry to see perfection of method and economy of effort we must not forget the immense value of the primitive bush schools of Africa. Nineteen thousand of them with over a million pupils will be found today dotted all over the continent, all the offspring of missionary effort. Possibly nearly as many more, not so distinctly educational in type—they might be called catechism schools—will be found under Roman Catholic missions.

These schools are the axes which are lopping down the hideous growths of superstition which have darkened African social life. They are the spades which are turning over the soil and giving it sunlight and fertility, changing the desert into a garden of the Lord. As a flag and a policeman are the emblems of a government station, and bales of calico and a sewing machine the emblems of a store, so a school and a teacher are the emblems of missionary service. For practically no mission in Africa can dissociate itself from the school, its most fruitful pioneer and servant.

LITERARY EDUCATION

A little over a century ago not more than two or three African languages were reduced to writing. It is difficult for a people for whom books and newspapers are a daily possession, to understand the isolation and backwardness which are involved in a bookless society. For Africa it has meant that the present is cut off from the past. For tradition, which was the only means of transmitting history, does not go back more than two or three generations before it is absorbed in myths, and passes from reality. No nation knew anything of what was learned or done by another. There was no intercommunication of knowledge and experience. I have heard the illiterate pass on the wonders of other folks' attainments until, not within a generation but within weeks, the actuality became unrecognizable. The white man was a fish which had appeared from the sea; the horse was as big as an elephant and swifter than the speediest animal of the forest; the aeroplane a great bird that came from the clouds. What was new was related to something that was known, until in excess of comparison it had become a monster.

When you trace religious faith given by oral tradition, you find the same monstrous changes happening, until you may search in vain for the basis of tradition which allies it with the truth first received from another. Only when calculations and records are reduced to writing can there be any accuracy. A simple instance of this is the counting of the people, which loses all

meaning and exactness after it has passed ten, the number of the fingers.

Now the mission comes and fixes accuracy by giving to African languages written form. Year by year, as missionaries have penetrated new tribes, they have gathered words and discovered the grammatical construction. Finally, with Roman letters the language has become literary and they have made books. There is Babel-like confusion in West Africa in the tongues of the people. But among the Bantu group, stretching from equatorial Africa to the Cape, there is a wonderful unity of construction, and close relationship in spite of dialectical differences. It is still a question how far each dialect and form should be made literary, or whether a grouping of allied dialects can be made through which books may be accessible to everyone.

At present there are two hundred and forty-four African languages reduced to writing, and in them are printed the whole or portions of the Bible. That has been almost entirely the achievement of missionary effort. The literature so far produced may be very limited, and the language used by the European very stilted and foreign. Yet there is the beginning, and the future must see immense growths of production; and by and by natives, instead of foreigners, will become the writers of books in their own tongues.

Mr. Rhodes, who was a great friend of the African and of missions with practical programs, once complained that in South Africa the schools only turned out "parsons and editors." That was his way of saying

that vocational higher training was only given for the more literary professions, and practical training was neglected. Strictly speaking, this dictum was not true, for in many of the big institutions, such as Lovedale, journeymen carpenters, wagon-builders, printers, masons, etc., were turned out every year. Yet it did reveal the fact that the vast majority of the schools were purely literary in their output. In this very practical age men are apt to decry the value of such training, but it must be the foundation of all culture and all civilization. The Danish government recognizes that the huge advance in efficient dairy farming has not been due simply to the technical teaching given at later stages, but to the excellent intelligence training given in the day schools. For the educated man should know how to use his tools better than the uneducated.

When colonists cry out for more practical teaching in mission schools, it is to the end that the pupils may be trained to further the economic prosperity of those making the demand. But the danger soon arises that the trained native citizen will enter into serious competition with the white artisan, and by accepting lower wages will lower the standard of living and make the European producer's position impossible. In one colony this popular outcry and the sudden realization of the danger caused a curious contradiction of legislation. At one time it was enacted that no school should receive a government grant unless practical training in industry, with sufficient plant, were given. One mission immediately ordered a printing press for the use of

the pupils. But before the press had arrived, the government had passed a law that no school which trained pupils in trades in which they might compete with Europeans could receive a grant.

One need not enter into a complicated discussion of competitive interests. It is sufficient to recognize that apart altogether from vocational training, ordinary literacy is necessary for intelligent work. The carpenter cannot be a good workman until he can read his foot-rule and plans of work. The printer cannot set his types until he is able to read a book. Modern industry must always have a foundation of literacy.

All missionaries recognize the paramount necessity of intelligence for the permanence of the Christian faith. Africa has had tragedy enough in efforts to evangelize which ignored mass education. The disappearance of the Christianity of the seventeenth century on the Congo and Zambezi can be traced in some degree to the fact that the people were not given power to read, nor given the Word of God in their own language. Now nearly all missionary societies (apart from Roman Catholics) insist that catechumens be regular scholars, unless they are too old to learn to read. No sooner is a language reduced to writing than portions of the Bible are first of all translated as the earliest literature of the people. And steady efforts are made to give them the New Testament, and then the whole Bible. The Bible is the textbook and literature of Africa. It is the common possession of all readers. In it they find the new laws which regulate

social behavior, the ethics which must be their personal and civic standard, and the road which leads to God and to knowledge of him.

There is nothing which so effectually breaks the power of magical faith, and emancipates a people from the dread and enthralling superstitions of the past, as the simple work of the schools. Again and again we have seen how it has awakened a spirit of peace and broken the spirit of war. Among the Abangoni, who were organized for fighting and raiding, the warriors and head-men for years refused to allow schools to be opened, because they recognized that they would smash up the old war system. When at last the forays ceased and peaceable industry took their place, everyone declared that it was the teaching of the schools that had made the change. One has seen the medicine-man slink past a schoolhouse as a creature of the dark avoids the glare of light. Where formerly the crude and fearsome trappings with which he was decked would have produced terror and made the people his tributaries, the pupils have jeered and laughed as at a comical object, while he fled in confusion before the emancipation the school had created.

The enormous bulk of native correspondence in the African post-offices proves how links have been formed which connect the village life with the wanderers who have traveled thousands of miles in search of work. Not only are they able, by the aid of writing and the postal system, to maintain communication with their own folk, but they are able to send money, to hear

news of one another's welfare, and to enlarge immensely their knowledge of things in general. Letters are a surer way than dreams for letting distant friends know of one's welfare.

With the passing of old barter systems of marketing, and the introduction of cash for wages and for sales, a knowledge of elementary arithmetic has made immensely for economic progress. Now a lad can count his wages and see that he is not the victim of unscrupulous men. He can buy and sell goods and make interchange of commodities more easily. He can avoid many a long and bitter dispute which would be inevitable by the old system of loose calculations. So the teaching of arithmetic has been a rare handmaiden of peace and progress.

Thus elementary teaching in schools, simple and wasteful though it may sometimes be, is having immense influence in forming a more intelligent and emancipated Africa, and in making strong and sure foundations on which the future civilization may be built.

ADAPTATION

The missionary who will not relate the methods and aim of the education he gives to the needs of his African pupils will have good cause for a sense of wasted and futile effort at the end of the day. For there is nothing magical in a school. It is a plot of ground where the minds of the pupils are cultivated. The gardener requires to know his soil and climatic conditions, and to plant the proper seeds for the fruits and

flowers he would see. The school is not a hothouse for the development of exotic shrubs which will wither in the village air. What is planted must find its healthiest growth in the climate and soil of the common life of the people.

The schoolhouse stands apart from the village in a place by itself. Separated from the dirt and noise of the village, it presents a more ambitious style of building than anything to be seen among the native huts. Around it trees may be planted, a clean courtyard prepared, and roads made to radiate in many directions. Yet it is built among the villages, with African material and by African hands, and its isolation and superiority do not mean that it has no relation to the simple life and styles of the people.

If what is taught within that building is only for use in school hours, and has no influence on the social and personal habits of the people, the school remains a foreign institution, unable to function as it should in transforming native life from a crude barbarism into a progressive civilization. But there are hundreds of cases where the school has been brought into intimate relation with the native life, and has been able to remove superstition from the community, to create healthier and more industrious conditions, and to develop a faith and intelligence that have changed men and women and their entire social standards.

First of all, education must be related to what the African already possesses. For the work of a school is not primarily destructive but constructive. It does

not exist to overthrow anything but what is essentially evil. It seeks to purify and develop all that is best, and to create a richer personality and nationality. Africa has had its own educational methods before ever the West intruded. The initiation schools were a hard instruction in the spirit and rules of the tribe. The fathers also taught their sons, and the mothers their daughters, cattle and agricultural lore, forest lore, traditions and fables, music, domestic and motherhood arts, religious customs. It was the training in these that gave continuity and cohesion to a people. Now if we preserve a language and enrich it by making it literary, ought we to destroy and impoverish the knowledge and customs of the people, and denationalize them in order that we may write our Western knowledge on a blank paper?

Listen to their music. What a nest of singing birds there is in Africa! What rhythm of music there is in language, and dance, and action! What voices the southern Bantu have, and what a sense of harmony! Yet listen to the school and church music and you will find that it is all European, with musical intervals that the African cannot master without long training. Happily there are some missions which have taken care to encourage the old national music, and have found in it the easiest and quickest way to the heart of the people.

Or take recreations and crafts that have held the people from time immemorial; why should they be jettisoned to make way for a foreign cargo? Pottery,

with all its beauty of design, makes way for the cheap ugliness of Western ware, home weaving for Manchester goods. Major Manse declares that "European manufacturers cannot put on the market cotton stuffs approaching the wearing power of Kano cloth at the same price as is charged for it by the natives." Why in South Africa should the ugly and insanitary European dress be the badge of Christianity, and the national blanket the badge of heathenism? Could not more beautiful and healthy clothing be evolved from the national style? Dance, which is primitive man's easiest expression of emotion, may have many evil accidents, but why should it not be purified and preserved? Did not David dance before the Lord? If only we could help the African to dance before the Lord and not before the devil, how sweet and healthy his recreation might be!

A teacher takes up arithmetic, and finds from the start that the Africans' method of counting in fives and tens from the number of the fingers is the basis of our own Western calculations. He makes additions and multiplications with bundles of twigs such as they would use, and finds that mystic figures on a slate suddenly become living things, representative of just the matters they deal with daily. He casts aside the elaborate problems of Western textbooks, and deals with the affairs that meet lads and girls in village life, and dry arithmetic becomes the most exciting of pursuits.

Then how is he to teach geography? Mr. Edwin Smith says that he looked over the examination papers

of a normal school in East Africa, and not a question referred to things African. It is possible to find unfortunate teachers who carry classes through the mountains and rivers of Europe, while the pupils cannot trace the streams flowing through the territory of their own tribe, or name the mighty rivers of Africa.

But here is a class gathered in the open air tracing on the sand the rivers of their nation, connecting tributaries with the main stream, and following all to the great lake or to the unseen ocean. Heaps of stones or sand stand where mountains should be. Then plans and maps become pictures of what is real, and geography a science related to reality, which leads the pupil over the wide earth, only a patch of which he has seen.

The wise teacher knows that a pupil will learn and remember better by doing than by memorizing from a book. It is one thing to give a lesson on malaria, another to set to work to drain off puddles of water and scatter paraffin on the breeding-places of mosquitoes; one thing to teach sanitation by theory, but a more effective thing to set the pupils to build latrines. Mr. Dougall tells of a school he visited where the girls refused to clean their dormitory floor because it was time for the hygiene lesson. It is one thing to multiply and divide on slates; another thing to handle a measuring tape or cash, and recognize as facts what you had only worked with as figures.

Then take the great lesson of service. This is fundamental to good education. What we learn is not for our own enrichment, but for the service of the world we

live in. Africa has quickly learned this in religious faith, and tens of thousands of African Christians preach the gospel that they have received. It would be well for us if all our other gifts were used in the same way. The girls are given lessons on home-building, the care of the children, cleanliness. When they apply these by bringing them to bear on the lives of others in their community the lesson will never be forgotten. The boys have learned about sanitation and house-building. When they go to help some helpless creature in their village to have a better house, more tidy and sanitary, they demonstrate what the use of a school is.

The greatest danger of school life in Africa is that it should be dissociated from the ordinary life of the people. The pupils live one life within their school walls, another in the village. What we aim at is that the whole school life and the village life be a unity, not broken by wide chasms which separate village practice from theoretical instruction.

One of the most pleasing things I saw in Central Africa happened one day when I had entered a village unexpectedly. None of the school lads were to be found there. But in the evening they trooped back, carrying their hoes over their shoulders.

"Where have you been?" I cried.

"Hoeing the garden of X" (an old widow, too feeble to help herself), they replied. And I felt that service like that was the best lesson on character-building the school could have, and the best demonstration to the

people that what the schools stand for is not self-enrichment but the welfare of the community.

"I feel," said Dr. Garfield Williams, coming with Indian experience to survey African work with the Phelps-Stokes Commission, "I feel that the danger of lip service to the Christian ethic, and of mere creedal affirmation of the Christian religion, is more serious in Africa than in any other part of the world. . . . The schoolmaster who succeeds in helping his boys to the immediate translation of vision into service is he who alone provides a Christian education."

For what does education mean? It certainly cannot be summed up in examination passes, or even in the gaining of skill to write and calculate. I think that the Le Zoute conference defined the purpose of all that is taught in school in words which every true missionary must endorse: "This conference regards Christlikeness as the supreme moral achievement, and to fashion character after the pattern of Christ is to them that definition of the aim of education which, traced out in all its implications, is felt by the consent of our whole nature to be at once the highest and most comprehensive."

Men will test the education that we give by its effect on life. The chief wants a school in order that it may make communication between him and the government more possible, facilitate the communications of his people, especially with those who are far away at the mines, and increase the economic wealth of his community. But he recognizes that unless education strength-

ens reverence and morality and civil obedience, it will bring danger to his people.

The trader knows that education provides more skilled helpers, increases the wants of the people, and thereby stimulates the market for his goods. But unless honesty and uprightness accompany the people's increasing capacity, his position becomes difficult and full of menace. I have just now received a letter from a planter who had been recruiting labor near my station. He found that schools had immensely increased the number of willing applicants, for seven hundred had been enrolled in a few days, and he adds, "My long experience of native labor leads me to recognize that no class of workers is so satisfactory as those who have been under a strong missionary influence."

The government has found that administration could not be carried on without the assistance of educated Africans. In Nigeria alone there are seven thousand clerical and technical posts held by Africans, whose salaries amount to two and a half million dollars a year. "It is useless," says one governor, "to build railways if you have no clerks, accountants, telegraphists or signal men, and no artisans for the shops." These men are not picked out of village life without education. They are the product of schools. But unless reliability of character accompanies their skill, power and position may be used as a means of oppression, while the trust and the safety of the commonwealth are brought into greater danger than before.

The character on which prosperity and peace and justice are built comes from no other source than from a living religion, so that religious faith is the primary emphasis of all true education. That is why the governments of Africa recognize that school work must be carried on by missionary societies, and that in all they do for the future welfare of the land the moral element must not be ignored.

We speak today of the necessity for the closest cooperation between government and missions. Neither can do their best work without the help of the other. A few years ago little financial assistance was given to missions by the state, despite the fact that education was almost entirely in their hands. The administrations scarcely recognized how necessary to their stability and progress was this moral and intellectual service for Africa. In 1917 the Gold Coast spent 2.9 per cent of their revenue on education. In Uganda it was 0.6 per cent in 1920, and in Nyasaland 0.5 per cent. The recent interest that has been created has caused these governments to make enormous strides. Thus the Gold Coast budgets a half million dollars for education, and expects in a few years to spend three and a half times that amount. Uganda's expenditure has risen from ten thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and is expected soon to reach half a million dollars.

But a government does not fulfil all its obligations when it gives financial aid. True cooperation means more than grants to mission schools. It means the

pursuit of the same aims. When there is no assurance of this true harmony, missions are well justified in refusing financial help, for they recognize that the grants may impose limitations on the primary work of evangelization.

Within the past few years several movements have been gathering up the experience of the past, and mapping out general principles and cooperative methods by which Africa may get the very best from the gifts that Christian civilization can bring.

In Britain an advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa has been formed by the Colonial Office, and of this group of experts Mr. J. H. Oldham, as representing the missionary societies, is a member. It is an attempt of those who would fulfil their trusteeship for Africa "consciously and deliberately to shape the forces that control their lives."

The African Education Commission of the American Phelps-Stokes Fund, led by Dr. Jesse Jones, made two visits to Africa in the years between 1920 and 1924, traveling widely and gathering information about missionary and government education. They have published their report in two large volumes, with constructive proposals based on the very successful experiments in Negro education in the United States, and on the observations made in Africa. Governments and missionary societies alike have received their recommendations with wonderful approval. Dr. Jones has done great service to African education by his repeated emphasis on the need for instruction on how to pre-

serve health. Immensely impressed with the ravages of some preventable diseases in Africa, and the enormous loss of intellectual and industrial efficiency and of life which comes from ignorance of ordinary precautionary methods, he has preached the doctrine of the sacredness of the human body, and insisted that education is poor and false which does not lead to better sanitary conditions.

A pupil is not educated if he reads his book indifferent to the waterpools which surround his house, breeding disease. What a travesty of culture it is that students should pass the highest examinations, and still defend their bodies from sickness by magical charms to ward off the demons that carry evil to men. Yet unfortunately there are many schools in Africa which, in their concentration on literary attainments, pay no attention to hygiene. Now there is a distinct movement towards the recognition of health teaching. Several textbooks on hygiene for Africans have been prepared, and are regularly used in schools, with demonstrations of their teaching. It is a step forward when one sees a teacher examine the hands and finger-nails and teeth of his class to see that they are clean; or when one sees a school put on its timetable the work of draining the school grounds, and the digging and building of latrines; or when lessons are given on washing, invalid cooking, first aid, and so on.

Although missions are sometimes charged with doing little for the industrial development of the pupils, this fault cannot be fairly laid on all African missions.

For connected with most of the great missions there are the technical institutions for the training of skilled workers, many of whom in after life have played a great part in the civilization and progress of the continent. One can scarcely think of a great mission, fully established and equipped, without associating with it an industrial institution famous perhaps to all who know Africa, or at least to those who know their church's missions.

In such places you will find apprentices busy at printing, carpentry, building, engineering, basket-making, weaving, leather work, tin-smithing, and scores of such trades. And all over the continent, wherever skilled African artisans are allowed to practise their trades, you will find these men helping to create the new civilization. There are colonies in the south where the skilled native tradesman is apt to come into competition with the white man, and where the laws, framed to preserve the highest possible standard of living for the whites, will not allow the menace of black competition with the white skilled worker. But in the tropical dependencies the men who have had a grounding in literary work, and then proceeded to learn a trade, are to be found in all the essential services, enriching their own people and the colonist by the arts they have acquired.

At the same time missionaries are coming to recognize that there has been some neglect of the training of natives in ordinary village industries, and in the production of crops which will at once feed the people

and be a means of economic wealth. It is one thing to produce workers who will find employment under the white man, and another thing to train those who will serve their own community direct, gaining a living there and helping their own people towards higher standards of civilization.

SUPERVISION

Education, however, cannot be created out of plans on paper. The human element is the main factor, and more than anywhere in the world the usefulness of a school in Africa depends on the teacher. So the training and proper supervision of African teachers becomes one of the great tasks of the educationist. Every mission which carries through a system of schools with native teachers must have its normal colleges where these are trained. The vast proportion of teachers hold no certificate, and have no training in the methods of education. They are mostly selected from the advanced pupils, on the grounds of intelligence and character. But as the missions grow older and the normal schools more numerous, the standard and training of the teacher mount higher.

At the same time it is a question, much debated, whether extension should be faster than our power for proper staffing. Some hold that such a caricature of real education is given by the untrained that it were better that missions exercise the patience and grace of restraint. But others hold that the bush schools have so much valuable pioneer service to give, that as

quickly as reliable character in the teachers can be guaranteed the villages should be occupied by the pioneers. Certainly neither Uganda nor Nyasaland could have been educated as they are today if our ambition for the fully trained had restrained our occupation. Meanwhile other and evil forces would have entered and settled while we waited.

Yet whichever policy we follow, the great necessity is for a constant and efficient supervision. This does not mean that white men must be the supervisors; Africans, who understand the service that education and the Christian religion are to give, have also a great influence to use. The Phelps-Stokes Commission has done great service by drawing attention to this need and to the type of supervision that should be given. No longer can any educationist be satisfied that inspection by examination means helpful supervision. We wish now to see that the visit of the itinerant inspector be made enheartening and suggestive to all concerned.

In the southern part of the United States a Quaker lady, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, founded by the dedication of her fortune a system of traveling supervisors to visit the Negro schools, and reveal to the simple teachers better ways of giving knowledge, especially showing them how to relate their teaching to the community needs—demonstration by doing being the main line of suggestion. Africa is studying with great profit the results of this experiment.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that Africa is being sown with education, not of a form which

will remain a seedling dwarfed and unproductive, but rather one which is growing, healthy, and increasing in fruitfulness because it is adapted to the soil of the field. There is no limit to the goodness and richness of the fruit that may be produced. But this will depend on whether we sow exotic seeds, by forcing and unnatural conditions, or plant seeds that will respond to the soil and sun and rains of Africa.

CHAPTER VII

PROBLEMS OF CONTACT

THERE was a time when Africa made its greatest appeal to romance, enterprise and endurance. Today its appeal is for brave and clear thinking, and for courageous service that will carry out the Christian ideal all the way through the social and political maze, believing that Christ is the true guide. For this generation is faced with new and baffling situations which the contact of widely different civilizations and races has created. A people who easily took their place as masters and leaders, find that the pupils are passing out of the simpler stage of childhood into adolescence and are claiming the privileges of manhood. Every contact of trade and government has shaken the foundations of the old systems, and cracks are appearing all over the ancient edifice. Buttressing with temporary props will not satisfy. On what foundation shall we build? What forms is the new construction to take? What kind of life are the inmates to follow?

In this chapter we shall not attempt to answer these questions. But, as we read, do we believe that in the spirit of Jesus Christ alone can we find the permanent solutions; that no rush of fear dictating temporary measures which are contrary to his spirit can produce

anything but danger for the future; and that, as the challenge of Africa is a human one, Jesus is more than an historical fact—that he is the power of God which transforms men and society? Do we believe in the sacredness of human personality, no matter under what color of skin it lives? If we do, this belief will compel us to open every opportunity for the fullest development of the African, confident that God can express himself in all the wealth of his grace in every man, and that the gospel's implications are as varied and all-embracing for the African as for the European.

But the application of these general principles to the African situation is a task that demands both accurate knowledge and clear thinking. The tragedy of the past is that we have drifted without purpose, and the stream that has carried us has not been flowing towards the New Jerusalem. In South Africa especially the present dangerous positions have been reached because there have been so few who saw clearly, and still fewer who have had the power to beat their way against currents of popular prejudice. The policy of Africa has too often been one of "muddling through."

POPULATION

The greatest incentive to the colonization of Africa has been the tapping and developing of her material resources, in order that from her the needs of the world may be supplied. This is a legitimate aim, for we now recognize the commercial unity of the world, and believe that all human interests are so intertwined

that each should enrich the others. But in the eagerness to gather for ourselves there is always the danger that, like a mob in its passion, we may destroy the bridge which makes it possible to reach our objective, or break the branches that we may pluck the fruit. The greatest asset of Africa is the African. Without him nothing would be produced. Yet, unwittingly, white civilization has been introducing deadly forces which are seriously affecting Africa's population.

Yet although we may concede the epidemics and sicknesses which have arisen through our presence, we must not think of Africa as having been a Utopia before Europeans entered. We have no statistics to guide us, but one fact of recent date is significant. Under the Mahdist rule the population of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan decreased, according to Sir Reginald Wingate's estimate, from eight million five hundred thousand to less than two million. War and smallpox epidemics produced this result. Under British rule the population has risen from two million to five million five hundred thousand—not by natural increase alone but through the return of scattered people who found a new security there.

So also I have listened to old folk in Nyasaland speaking of the smallpox epidemics which swept the land before the Europeans came, and which left the villages empty of herd-boys and of men to keep the gardens. I have also seen wide stretches of country which were wholly uninhabited because the Abangoni had turned them into a wilderness, once more being covered by

villages with a thriving population after peace had settled on the land. Natal was practically empty of Africans in the early part of last century. The Zulus had made of it a great buffer desert to protect their fighting nation. In 1838, at the time of the establishment of the republic of Natal, there were only twenty-five thousand natives in that territory; seven years later, when the country was annexed by the British Empire, the native population had increased to a hundred thousand; today it exceeds a million.

The census statistics of all African colonies are peculiarly unreliable. Most of them are really the sum of guesses. Yet it is evident that in some parts the population is increasing, as in Nigeria, Nyasaland, and South Africa. Indeed, the census officer in the Union of South Africa, where alone of all African colonies reliable facts could be given, created something like a panic two years ago by his returns, and by his prognostications about the swarming native population of the future. The racial problem arises largely from fear of overwhelming numbers.

That is not the whole story of Africa, however. The Germans declared that the Hereros of Southwest Africa had decreased between 1904 and 1911 from sixty-five thousand to twenty-one thousand six hundred, and the other tribes in like proportion. A French writer says that in ten years, from 1911 to 1921, the population of French Equatorial Africa had fallen from four million nine hundred thousand to two million eight hundred thousand. In Belgian Congo it used to be reckoned

that there was a population of forty million; today it is slightly over seven million. In British territory, although appalling diseases have swept off thousands, and in some parts the death-rate exceeds the birth-rate, the rather loose census returns seem to indicate an increase rather than a decrease.

Now intertribal war has ceased. (The Zulu conquests in Chaka's day are estimated to have cost a million lives.) Magical barbarities have been suppressed. (One of my colleagues has counted thirty dead lying outside a village after a poison ordeal.) Yet there is no rapid increase of population, while in some places there is a decrease. If you ask a native to explain this, he will say that it is because of the new diseases which our civilization has introduced. Perhaps that is one great cause. For the open lines of communication have proved to be highways for epidemics as well as avenues for enrichment.

The jigger (chigoe)—a little insect that burrows under the skin and lays its eggs there—has been carried in the feet of travelers from the mouth of the Congo, where it was brought in the ballast of a ship from South America, across the continent to the Indian Ocean.

Sleeping sickness, long endemic in West Africa, has in the past generation seized on central and south central Africa with terrible effect. In twenty years the deaths from this cause alone in Uganda numbered three hundred thousand. The terrible loss roused governments and scientists to seek methods to combat it, and it is worthy of note that while the recorded deaths

in Uganda in 1905 numbered eight thousand, in 1917 there were none from this cause. Some old missionaries believe that nine-tenths of the population of Middle Congo died of sleeping sickness, and in French territory it was not less devastating. In these regions the preventive measures have been meeting with large success.

Syphilis, which some say came from America after the Spanish occupation, is spreading in Africa. One doctor estimates that two-thirds of the mothers who come to his hospital were at one time or another affected by it.

The terrible epidemic of influenza in 1918, entering by ships that called at Cape Town, spread all over the continent. As it flew over the land it came to a people unprepared, and almost wiped out some villages. In a lesser degree influenza is still prevalent in Africa.

Added to losses from these diseases there is the high mortality at the labor centers. Wise and strenuous methods, which have greatly reduced the death-rate, are now being used to protect the great masses of natives who gather into compounds and locations about the mining centers. Yet the unaccustomed conditions of life and work, the bad housing and feeding in many cases, the long unshepherded journeys to the labor centers, involving hundreds of miles of travel by foot, leave their mark in shattered health and in death. For example, at Leopoldville, though the native population never exceeded four thousand, the burials in fourteen years amounted to three thousand nine hundred.

Other devastating diseases new to Africa could be

mentioned, such as phthisis and typhus, all more or less the result of the dirty and unhealthy European clothing, so unsuitable for washing or for changing, and always second-hand, which has too often been considered the badge of civilization. Medical men tell us that epidemics new to a land attack the people with a virulence so deadly because the blood has not acquired the skill and power to combat the unaccustomed enemy. The ordinary layman can recall cases in cold Labrador, or in the sunny islands of the Pacific, where an entire community has disappeared through measles or smallpox or influenza.

The cynic will say, "Here is the solution of the native problem. Let disease in." But the Christian will say, "Here is a mighty task given to our trusteeship, to beat back disease, and to save a great people for the world."

DISINTEGRATION

Huge fissures are opening in native life through contacts with white civilization. The old unity and cohesion of society no longer exist. The individualism which clears the way for personal progress is bursting the barriers which a rigid tribal system had erected. And the task in Africa is to find out how black society may be saved from the chaos which the situation may create.

In South Africa you may see all the racial and purely African problems written in large letters which the most shortsighted can read. For example, within the Union there are four and a half million natives. But

these are divided into three distinct groups. Mr. Jabavu estimates that perhaps two millions live under old tribal loyalties, another two millions are scattered on the European farms and in their own locations, and about half a million are living in urban areas, in direct contact with white men and mostly in their service, some as skilled artisans, clerks, etc., and others as unskilled laborers.

Now we have seen that the power which maintained the discipline and morality of native society used to be two loyalties, viz., to faith and to the community. The old faith in magic and ancestral spirits is no longer so strong, especially among the urban natives, and for the farm and urban native the old tribal loyalty does not exist. The danger is that our civilization is busy dissolving and not cementing, destroying and not building up.

One of the most serious problems for South Africa is the creation of new moral sanctions for the tens of thousands of natives who work for Europeans. Outside each township may be seen "the location," a collection of huts and tin shanties where the black workers live. They give daily service in the stores and workshops and houses of the whites, but at night return to their own place. Too often that location is an unlighted, insanitary slum, ugly to the last degree. In it the mass of inhabitants have no cohesive unity, and no social responsibility. There is little effort to build civilized home life, to plant trees and flowers, to beautify houses. Seldom do healthy recreations occupy idle

hours, or evening schools stimulate intelligence and prepare better workers and citizens.

Yet the white men, when they called in these workers, did not erect inanimate machinery which can lie idle when not wanted and start into life when service is required, but gathered together human beings, men and women with unknown passions. The health, efficiency, and safety of the whites lie in the conditions of the location. Some townships, well aware of this, have set themselves to improve their native quarters. At Bloemfontein there is a model location. Cape Town has removed the scandal of the past by building a new town for the native workers. Johannesburg has a social center which provides classes, games, and entertainments for thousands. In one location near Johannesburg I saw a European teacher living in a little house among the natives, giving himself entirely to their welfare.

These native locations are the beginnings of urban life for the South African. Yet what is being done to develop a healthy, self-contained township? You may find fruit and vegetable shops, but all else must be bought from the white men, who naturally are opposed to the loss that would come to them should the African turn storekeeper. You will look in vain for carpenters, plumbers and all those other workers on whom a town depends. In some towns the natives are allowed to build their own houses if they conform to the required plans. In others the white men have erected the huts because they are jealous of native building

competition, and consequently the rents are beyond what the natives can pay.

When we speak of the native problem here, its solution will be found in changing the word problem to task. This solution depends on the Christian white men who may find a great and worthy field of service in making the locations sweet and attractive, and in personal effort to stimulate beauty, health, recreation, and education. If white "settlements" could be founded in those locations, where young men would give themselves in service for the people, the results could be immense, not only in bettering life but in creating an understanding sympathy between the two races.

The Europeanized natives are those who have broken away from the old loyalties. Some are men whose minds have awakened, who are full of the best aspirations, and who are buttressed by deep Christian faith. Others have covered themselves with a veneer of white civilization which is not of the same fiber as their real stock. Dissociated from the past, and stretching out towards new associations which have not yet been naturalized, they are the "civilized natives" who receive honor neither from their own people nor from the whites. Possibly they are the real source of those protests that come from chiefs and emirs of the disrespect and disloyalty to authority which, they say, education is creating. But it is natural to expect that the African, who is becoming conscious of the powers that are in him, should be impatient of the old tribal restraints

which an effete system imposes. That is why many of the most ambitious Africans protest against our bolstering up the power of chiefs, and ruling "indirectly." They hold that the old system discourages initiative and progress, and that in spite of all we do, it is dying or dead. In West Africa especially the civilized native has in these days become articulate.

During the Peace Conference a Pan-African Congress met at Paris and passed resolutions asking for greater individual and racial responsibility. There was nothing of disloyalty or of revolt in their attitude, but simply the natural expression of a people awakening not only to the desire for greater responsibility in the control of their own affairs but also to a consciousness of power to exercise political functions. The National Conference, whose membership consisted of a few highly educated Africans of the West Coast, also presented a petition to the British sovereign shortly afterwards on much the same lines. But their claim to be representative of West Africa brought upon them a storm of protest from chiefs and emirs, and from the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, who repudiated any right on their part to speak for their countrymen, or even to claim a common nationality.

In South Africa a National Congress is held each year, and the chairman for 1926, Mr. Mahabane, a Wesleyan native clergyman, attended the Le Zoute conference. At the annual meetings free opportunity is given for members to speak out their thoughts, and sometimes these are disturbing enough; at others they

are but the ventilation of real grievances and right aspirations. But again you find the tribal leaders protesting that this self-constituted body has no right to hold itself representative of native opinion: they, the old authorities, are the real leaders.

Recently an African Trade Union has been formed in South Africa, led by a Nyasaland lad of more than ordinary ability. While it has not gripped the workers much, it is evidence of a new idea of combination among natives who have little in common but their race and whose past history is one of enmities. Unfortunately, wild speeches from the leaders are sometimes reported, correctly or incorrectly. But the Westerner, who believes so much in the value of collective bargaining, is scarcely in a position to condemn the purpose of the union. Its safety lies in reasonable demands for juster treatment; its danger in irresponsible talk fomented by injustice or by alien interests.

In Nyasaland an interesting movement is growing—the formation of Native Associations by educated Africans, chiefs, mission teachers, ministers, and government employees. They discuss questions affecting social welfare and administrative action. Their minutes are submitted to the governor, and allow him to see what the people are thinking. Some of these associations, under wise leadership, are becoming schools of training in national self-responsibility, and of opportunity for the expression of grievance and aspiration. All this means that the day is rapidly dawning when educated Africans will not be content with the paternal

government of chiefs or Europeans, in which they have no share in bearing the burdens of administration or in shaping its policies. Social and economic injustices will be resented with more and more articulate force. The freest opportunity for the greatest development will be demanded by the progressive African, and at least the opening part of Sir Frederick Lugard's definition of racial relations must become the rule of those who work for an assured peace: "Complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve."

At the same time the danger of precipitate action and too rapid reorganization of authority is great. If the present form of "indirect" government is maintained, it is not as a permanent solution of the problem of administration. Its evils are patent, and where it is used, the European magistrates exercise a constant supervision against abuses. Lord Milner's declaration of Britain's policy as being a rule through native chiefs is qualified by his insistence on due control. Fully aware of its weaknesses, he held that "we may even to some extent have to sacrifice efficiency of administration in order to promote contentment, though we cannot as honest trustees afford to sacrifice it too much."

When the people awaken to a sense of their own right to arrange their own affairs, the governing power has then to reshape its policies. Mr. Lionel Curtis applies the same principle to India: "We must be pre-

pared to see Indian electorates hurt themselves, the helpless as well as themselves. It is the only way in which the spirit of trusteeship can be called into being and made to grow."

All this means that a poor government with the good-will of the people is better than good government with their resentment. The hope of Africa is in the mass education which is being given, rather than in the intensive education of the few, and the open ways for development which are free alike to rich and poor, to chief and serf.

LAND

Most Africans are not city-dwellers but agriculturists or cattle herders, and the land question is therefore the most vital in the continent. The huge tracts of land which have come under European ownership, and the undefined tenure of natives under European rule, have created the difficulty. Thus the Commissioner for Lands stated in the Legislative Council in 1922 that over eleven thousand square miles of land in Kenya are in the hands of white men, and in Nyasaland, one-seventh of the total area. One company owns two and three-quarter million acres. This does not mean that no natives are on the land they own, or that the tenants have no land to cultivate, but that the tenure of the people has not the same fixity that it had under old conditions. In South Africa the conditions are different. In vast areas no native can own land, and his settlement is restricted by the Europeans, so that the African complains that while white farmers occupy

great tracts of five or even fifty thousand acres, the natives are herded together, thirty to a hundred souls living on a square mile of native-owned land.

In some countries the government claimed all the land by right of conquest, and sold or leased it to those who applied. Large stretches were unoccupied and these were disposed of by government. Other lands were bought by settlers from the chiefs, and when European administration came in, certificates of claim were granted to the pioneers. In some colonies government has proclaimed all the territory occupied by natives, or wholly unoccupied, as Crown lands. The Crown is not the landlord exacting rents, but the trustee protecting rights. But the right of many large landowners in Africa, as in Britain, may not bear too close inspection. Investigations might reveal that the price paid was altogether out of proportion to the value received, as in the case of the Elizabethan adventurer who boasted that he had bought a kingdom in West Africa for a bottle of rum. The further question might be asked as to whether any chief had a right to sell land. To the primitive African, land is not a saleable commodity. It may be disposed of but not sold. Besides, by native custom, no chief owns land in his own right. He only holds land as the representative of his tribe and for allocation to their use.

By whatever ways Europeans have come into possession, the fact remains that where the climate is suitable for white settlement the present division of territory has so confined the natives that an acute land

hunger disturbs their society. In South Africa, consequently, a serious drift to the industrial centers is taking place, for the African must either become a wage-earner with the European or starve. In many districts the acreage is so insufficient for the African occupiers, and the methods of cultivation so uninstructed, that hunger is their normal condition for some period of every year.

In the newer colonies a system of native reserves is being created or is in vogue. Certain districts are mapped out within which the tribe must live. No white man can buy land there, and no native can alienate it. Unfortunately there have been cases where the land in the reserve has proved to be too tempting for the white cultivator, and governments have shifted the people. The Masai, prompted by some white friends, brought an action against the government for wrongful dispossession, but it was quashed on a side issue, for the judge of the high court held that the acts of the defendants were acts of the state, not cognizable by a municipal court.

In South Africa the most notable movement towards individual fixity of tenure for the native was made by Cecil Rhodes in the famous Glen-Grey Act. He did not wish the natives to be mixed up with the Europeans, and suggested that they should be given their own land, and should manage their own affairs. So he divided a district in southeast Africa into locations, each of which was subdivided into lots of eight and a half acres. A board of landholders controls each location, and these

again are represented on a council presided over by the district magistrate. They are empowered to raise rates and to expend them, and to exercise an authoritative supervision of the location. This system has given much contentment, and its example is being followed in other places.

The idea of reserves, however, meets with a great deal of criticism, both from natives and governors. Sir P. Girouard wrote that they amount "to the dedication of lands for the perpetuation of barbarism," and he would have them under the hands of trustees. Others hold that the proximity of natives to Europeans is a stimulus to their advancement, and at the same time allows them to cooperate better as workers.

But the most serious fact in the attempt to delimit the areas in which natives may live is that the best land is apt to be set apart for the European cultivator, and far too little land given to the increasing native population. The Land Act of General Smuts of 1913 prepared a scheme of delimitation of areas which Europeans alone could occupy, and others where natives only could own the land. But all efforts so far to buy from the Europeans good and sufficient land for the enlargement of the native territory have failed. In the meantime the Europeans have been buying land which the natives will have to vacate.

Some people point with envy to the arrangements on the West Coast where natives alone may buy and own land, and would press for a similar arrangement in the south and east. But the conditions are very different.

The West Coast is unsuitable for European settlement, while the highlands of the east and the south are most attractive lands for colonization. In the south and east the country has become productive of economic crops through the work of white farmers, or the stimulus that they have given. In the west the increasing wealth of export goods is entirely the fruit of native labor. But, again, the difference is very great. For the cocoa plant could not grow in the highlands of the east or in South Africa, while it is the source of the greatest wealth in the west. It requires a minimum of labor, so little indeed that it has encouraged the natives to neglect the little more that is necessary for good cultivation, and the crop is in danger of disease and deterioration, so that soon its value may cease.

One of the great objections which whites have to native cultivation and farming in close proximity to that of the whites, is that the careless and untutored methods of the native may introduce diseases which will rapidly spread. If cotton disease breaks out on a careless native's farm, the whole of the cotton in that part of the land is apt to suffer. If disease appears among native cattle and is unchecked, it will destroy the herds of all others. The compulsory dipping regulations are not popular. They are expensive and troublesome, and often cause deep resentment against the European government. But the interest of the whole demands the measure.

Another evil is that in the eagerness of the native to produce economic crops he may neglect necessary

food crops. In West Africa a great proportion of the food supply that used to be raised by the people themselves has now to be imported. In East Africa, where food cannot be imported and purchased, and where new opportunities are afforded to the African of selling cotton and tobacco grown on his own ground, the governments, that they may save the villagers from semi-starvation, have had to lay down regulations which compel the people to plant certain proportions of food crops to the acreage under cotton or tobacco.

LABOR

The attitude of the Westerner to African labor has been focused through two acts of government, the proposed legislation in Kenya in 1920 on what we may call "forced labor," and the notorious "Color Bar" Act of 1925 in South Africa, limiting the right of the African to engage in skilled labor. Against the first, memorials presented by the Bishops of Zanzibar, Uganda, and Mombassa, and an influential group in Britain, roused public opinion to such a height that the proposals had to be greatly modified; and the united action of the church in South Africa in protesting against the second was the theme of a bitter attack by General Hertzog at the union meeting of senate and legislative assembly, when the act was forced through after having been rejected by the senate.

Here were clear cases for the interference of the churches, because both bills were obviously against the

spirit of Christ, and were proposals to act unjustly towards a section of the community. Both were dictated by fear and temporary necessity, without consideration of trusteeship towards the weaker race, and with the purpose of assisting one section at the cost of another.

First, let us think about forced labor. The demand arose from the necessity of the white man for larger supplies of workers. Men had staked their fortunes on the success of their enterprises in Kenya. Many of them were there at the invitation of the government, while the lack of sufficient labor was ruining their prospects. So they pressed government to use power to get the supply. The point was made that as they lived among a population of two and a half million natives and were yet unable to get sufficient workers, the lazy African should be compelled to come out from his reserve and give the necessary labor; that men were made for work, and it was altogether for their benefit that they should earn wages and leave their indolent ways.

Now there is no doubt that work and wages are a necessity for progress, and that everyone has a duty to produce for the benefit of the whole. But one asks, "Have we a right to prescribe the kind of work that others shall do? Is not forced labor the greatest enemy of industry, and contrary to civilized practice?" It is a mistake to call the African lazy because he does not work for the European. Village life is full of labor, not of the hectic type we associate with modern indus-

try, but continuous and exacting. The fields must be cultivated, houses built and repaired, implements made for field work and hunting and for domestic use. Cattle must be herded, food prepared and cooked. Social order and justice must be maintained. And if we say that listening to court cases and speaking in them is not work, where would our lawyers come in?

Now Lord Milner, in his despatch to the governor of Kenya, said plainly that British opinion would never tolerate the forcing of labor for private purposes. Unfortunately all European opinion is not of the same mind, for in Portuguese Africa a most destructive policy is followed, of lifting out of their villages all able-bodied men for periods of three months twice a year. These forced laborers are divided out for government needs and for commercial companies. At the end of their term of service they return with only a small proportion of their wages, and with bitterness in their hearts. One example of the suicidal results of such a policy is seen in the fact that over a hundred thousand Anguru have crossed the border of Portuguese East Africa and settled in Nyasaland, where they have a fairer chance.

To put it on the lowest plane, forced labor is the most expensive of all methods, and the poorest way to teach people to like work. Even the slave-owners of West Africa are convinced that slavery is more expensive than free and paid labor. On a higher plane, we must recognize the right of every man to dispose of his labor where and how he pleases, provided it is not to the hurt of others, and recognize too that the greatest

incentive to labor is to give a man intelligent and responsible work for which he gets a just remuneration.

Yet how is the necessary labor to be got? The European colonist, on whose enterprise the whole productive awakening of Africa depends, cannot work without a certain amount of native labor. For Africa has not the climate of Australia or Canada, which allows the white man to work in the fields. Some will answer, "By importing coolies from without, such as Indian or Chinese." That, too, has its danger.

Possibly all we can say is that patient education will do what is necessary. There is no more effective way of complicating the labor problem of Africa than by too rapid development. In Kenya, European colonization has been more rapid than the mass education of the people. And it may be necessary to retard the industrial development of a colony, both in the interests of the Europeans and of the natives, until the Africans themselves willingly respond to the needs of the new situation.

But again, cheap and abundant labor supply has been the curse of Africa. It has greatly slowed down the introduction of scientific and mechanical aids, which are absolutely necessary in more advanced countries. This can be seen in South Africa in farming. A good instance could be taken from Nyasaland. So long as abundant, cheap human porterage could be obtained, there was no strong movement towards building railways. Tens of thousands of natives willingly carried for very small pay the loads of fifty pounds or so into

which goods were made up. Then when the mines of Rhodesia began to attract by larger pay, the supply of carriers decreased, and sheer necessity compelled the building of a railway. Once it was built, heavier loads of machinery and other goods could be passed in and out of the colony. It is estimated that the export of twenty thousand tons of palm-oil from French West Africa employs six hundred thousand carriers for a limited period, which is the equivalent of forty thousand men for a whole year.

But the labor problem is not one of service for whites only. If a true spirit of industry is to be awakened, the native must also work for the development of his own community, and as his own master. Though no nation can exist without the wage-earner, and all cannot be peasants tilling their own soil, yet we must recognize that far more is produced and far more work done when a man is working in his own interests. The African may not take pride in raising a European's cotton, while he may in raising his own. That is the lesson of Uganda, where the native producers received over fifteen million dollars in 1925 for the cotton they grew.

By the Color Bar Act of 1925 the native of South Africa is precluded from engaging in skilled or semi-skilled labor for the white man. One fact and one fear produced this unfortunate legislation. The fact is the presence of a hundred and thirty thousand "poor whites" in the Union. The fear is that with the growth of intelligence the skilled native will lower the standard of living of the white man by offering his skilled labor

at cheaper prices than the Westerner demands. So this act was passed by the government to protect the future of the white race.

The fear is a very disturbing one. For South Africa is under-industrialized and there is not enough skilled labor for all the new generation of whites. It is a grave concern to a white father to see the native increasing in ability to compete with his sons for the better paid, intelligent jobs that they might fill. But the measures taken to preserve the future are false to the spirit of Christ, and economically stupid. No man has a right to save his own interests by hurting others. When we deny men the right to rise to the highest, we do them injury and wrong.

The economic folly might be illustrated by a conversation I had with a European manufacturer in South Africa, who told me that he did not believe in educating the native. Next day I suggested to him that in South Africa too few white lads were being apprenticed to productive trades. "I don't agree," he answered. "We have too many journeymen in Africa. In my own factory I can produce more than the country can consume. We have only one and a half million possible buyers." He had only counted the whites. But I saw the larger population, and said, "Why have you not seven million possible buyers? If you educate the natives you create new desires for better goods. And every one of the natives could be a buyer of your articles."

He then thought that perhaps education might be a good thing. But again the bugbear of competition

rose before him, until I suggested that raising the mass created greater markets for all, better housing, better furnishing, more comforts. And every rise of one enriched others in the state.

For the fact is that no country can afford to keep one section of its society in ignorance or in economic depression. It is from the enrichment of all that the enrichment of each citizen comes.

CHAPTER VIII

CHRIST THE KEY

THE primary task in the creation of a new Africa lies in the regeneration of the African man and woman. It is not fulfilled in social reform, in administration, or in commercial development. For society and nations are composed of individuals, each the captain of his own soul. Government and trade are but forms through which man may express himself. But the clue to man's welfare is in man himself.

In the town of Christiansborg, Gold Coast, in the midst of tremendous commercial prosperity, and hard by Government House where the dignity and power of European administration dwell, stands a temple to a hideous juju, built by civilized labor. Motor cars, the apotheosis of Western civilization, dash by a juju shrine, the emblem of degraded animism. In Johannesburg, the metropolis of "the reef of gold," there are noisome slums in which highly paid natives live in worse conditions than ever they did in their primitive native villages. The reef of gold is called "the university of vice."

The clever educated African, who has acquired all the skill the schools can give him, may also be a consummate rogue whose criminal record makes him a menace to society. There are chiefs and government

native officials who have received position and influence through their ability, who may use their authority for oppression and injustice.

These undisciplined powers are not peculiar to Africa. They are the commonplaces of Western civilization too. For the basis of a secure and progressive society is not to be found in accretions to a man's possessions, but in the change of a man's heart. At every step in the organization of life, says Professor Hobhouse, we are brought up baffled against obstacles of human temperament, and experience the futility of all "reform" that does not radiate from within.

So the task for those who would create a new Africa is to bring to bear the forces that create a new African. These are spiritual, for man is a spiritual being and must be changed by spiritual forces, not by anything mechanical or outward. "No alchemy," said Herbert Spencer, "can produce golden conduct out of leaden motives." Our business is to see whether we have that force in our faith that can make motives high and strong, because a new spirit has taken possession of man.

Man's personality is the lock on the social and national door. And Jesus Christ is the key that fits that lock and opens the door. The method that Jesus Christ used was not one of external programs of reform but of spiritual principles from which alone the new life can spring. Our Lord lived among baffling problems, just as we do. In Galilee there was a teeming population, with overcrowding, land hunger, poor

wages, aspiring nationalism, oppression by a foreign government; yet there is no specific economic or political program in all that he taught, though he came to bring in the Kingdom of God. Men wanted the program, and because he did not give it they turned away as from an unpractical dreamer.

St. Paul was a city dweller, and a city worker. He must have been up against the same pressure, vastly increased in intensity. Before his eyes was always the Kingdom of God, in which all life would be in subjection to his Master. But St. Paul confines himself to spiritual truths, and to great Christian principles which affect the conduct of men. It is to Christ and all that he taught that we look for the basis of character and of all social reform and national progress.

Do not let us assume that the man who is the problem of Africa is always black. We speak of racial antagonisms. Who created them, and who feels them? Not the patient African. He had no bitterness against us. We may Christianize Africa ever so thoroughly, but that will not make a harmony. We must make the white man, too, more Christian in a way that will be revealed in his broad policies and in his social attitudes. Give us white men who are Christlike in their lives and brave enough to follow out Christ's laws, though at first to do so may hurt their personal interests, and Africa will respond. But there is the difficulty—can we follow Christ's laws in Africa? Is his belief in the sacredness of personality and in the power of everyone to rise to the highest, possible to us in Africa?

A Transvaal politician of good-will says, "Indeed it is just this ingrained conception of fairness and equity that makes the problem so difficult. We wish to apply Christian principles, but apparently we cannot do so without committing suicide." But does not the law of Christ say, "He that loveth his life shall lose it"? It is through loss and death that we enter into the fullest life. Where is sincerity if we profess our faith in Christ but deny his adaptability to life? That is not belief in him, it is doubt of him. When we actually pass measures or assume attitudes contrary to his teaching, we repudiate him.

Do we believe that only on the principles of Jesus can be built a safe and prosperous world? Take that golden truth which Jesus taught and to which we give our unqualified admiration: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (*Luke* 6:31). Or think of that wonderful faith of his in human worth which is expressed not so much in texts as in deeds—in seeking the despised and broken outcasts and bringing them into the Kingdom, in eating and drinking with them and recognizing them as full heirs of the Kingdom. Can we go and do likewise in Africa?

Note this characteristic of Christ's method: his concentration on the individual. We speak much in these days of society and social problems. But, says Francis Thompson:

> There is no expeditious road
> To pack and label men for God
> And save them by the barrel-load.

The way to save a nation is to save first one individual and then another, you and me and the next man. Because our Lord spoke so searchingly to the battered woman by the well, all Sychar came out to hear him. Because he called Peter and John and Matthew, a force was created which promised to turn the world upside down.

That is where the test of our gospel comes in; not in study circles which deeply discuss national and social problems and seek the Christian solution, but in the effort to save this one and that one, souls of priceless value, capable of God and of claiming all his resources. It is necessary that we think, and think bravely and clearly, on the wider bearings of our faith. But it is more necessary that we apply our faith in redemptive action for the souls of men; that, like Christ, we go forth to seek one sheep lost in the wilderness, though there be ninety and nine others to care for. The promise and glory of mission work is found in every one of the men and women who, out of the depths of barbarism, rise to the fellowship of Christ.

Granted that the very heart of the problem is the individual, have we a key to unlock it?

With my whole soul I believe we have, and the key is Christ himself. I do not mean the Western expression of Christianity, much less Western civilization. These are too faulty. Nor do I mean alone the principles of Christ. It is not higher laws that change men. But I mean Christ, who was dead and is alive again, and who is the omnipotence of God. To every one

who goes forth to do his will in the world there is the promise of his presence. In such a fellowship solutions are certain, the stiffest lock yields, and the door flies open.

It was Christ with Paul that made Paul stand with confidence in licentious Corinth, aware that souls deep in sin would yet be purified by Christ's spirit (*I Corinthians* 6). Through all the ages it is the same. See Morrison before the scoffing captain: "God can." See Chalmers in Polynesia: "The nearer I get to Christ and his cross, the more do I long for direct contact with the heathen." Or take this from Dr. Gibson: "I have often thought that if I were to expend all my energies to persuade one Chinese to change the cut of his coat or to try some experiment in agriculture, I should certainly plead in vain. And yet I stand up to beg him to change the habits of a lifetime, to break away from the whole accumulated influence of heredity, to make himself a target for the scorn of the world in which he lives . . . to submit his whole being to a change that is for him the making of his whole world anew. *Credo quia impossibile.* I believe it can be done, because I know I cannot do it, and the smallest measure of success is proof of the divine power. The missionary must either confess himself helpless, or he must to the last fiber of his being believe in the Holy Ghost."

Now I have heard it said that our search into the good that is in animism and in native society weakens the appeal for redemptive work. We lose the motive of pity for the hopelessly lost. But sympathy and un-

derstanding make better approaches than pity. The difference between Christ's attitude and the righteous Pharisee's to the woman caught in adultery, and to Zacchæus the publican, was that Christ saw the response they could make, while the Pharisee saw nothing but death and perdition.

But, alas, we who love Africa must know best how loathsome paganism can be, and what a burden it has put upon a darkened land! This boy, so bright and attractive in his youth, passes through his initiation school and comes forth besmirched in soul. Who that loves him, and adores the Holy One to whom he belongs, can help feeling the knife enter his soul as he looks on the spoiled treasure? This woman, who might be the sweet embodiment of womanly virtues, is darkened by magical faith which compels her to cruelties even to the child she has borne. Who that loves God and his creatures can help feeling the pain of the sin? Ah! one need not go far into the lore and practice of animism to find oneself on the edge of the pit and looking into hell.

For the more conscious we are of God, the more awful is our sense of the shame and loathsomeness of sin. If our interest is not to make men Godlike, the study of ethnology can be interesting without being painful. We watch the processes by which society is formed, and the dawn of civilization, as we watch the ways of ants or rabbits. But when a man knows God and the purpose of the sad cross of Calvary, and sees

in men and women children of the Holy One who should be like him, ethnology has another meaning.

It is with that sense of values that we are studying this book, and that we ask ourselves, What service can I give for Africa's redemption? Have I something worthy to give? When I give it, can it accomplish anything? The answer to these questions is in our estimate of our Lord Jesus Christ and in our experience of what he has done for us and for the world.

Now if we believe that Christ is the power of God, I shall suggest three Christian principles which are necessary for the making of a new Africa—cooperation, equality, unity. All three are, like all words and phrases, liable to grave misunderstanding. But perhaps we can explain.

COOPERATION

St. Paul, in that great classic passage, *I Corinthians*, 12, sings the hymn of cooperation: "For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ . . . and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

That is the hymn of those who believe that the human family is one. There are distinctions and differences within the family but they do not go deep. In material things the unity of mankind is manifested in the interdependence of the parts of the world, an inter-

dependence which is daily increasing as processes of communication develop. In the days of the opening of the war we learned that there are no impassable gulfs. Men spoke of confining the war to Europe. Before the war was twenty-four hours old the guns were booming on Lake Nyasa, and soon the conflagration had spread to Polynesia. Then the unity of the world had tragic demonstration.

So great is the interdependency today that the hurt of one part hurts the whole; the enrichment of one part enriches the whole. For humanity is like a live body whose limbs spread over the earth with nerves and arteries. You cannot have a poisoning of the little finger which does not endanger the health of every other part of the body. Where then is there room for antagonisms and despising? The health and wealth of human society depend on the service of each for all, and the honoring of what each gives. Africa cannot work out her own life by herself. Europe and America have need of her, but she also needs the white man.

Take education. It was the white man who made the languages of Africa literary, who gave her books that she could read, and power to read them. But not the white man alone. It was the black man who taught the white man his languages, and who carries on the schools that the white man organized. For every white teacher there must be fifty black teachers who make education possible.

Take communications. Roads and railways, steamers and motor-cars, are opening up the continent and

making prosperity possible. Without Europe not a mile of railway could have been built, not a steamer would have sailed Africa's rivers and lakes. But the work was not possible without the African to make the ways, to run the trains, to operate the signal-boxes, and to keep the offices going. In South Africa that may be white man's work, but not so in West Africa.

Take government. It is easy to list the imperfections of European governments, but it is not less easy to list their benefits. Peace reigns where once was intertribal war, free labor where was slavery, fair judgments in the courts where the serf had little justice, security to those who would develop the land. Administration cannot despise or ignore the black man's service. He acts policeman to keep the peace, clerk to keep the records, interpreter to make communication possible, local chief or head-man to rule the village, and in a hundred ways makes government possible.

Take missions. We send our European and American missionaries. To them Africa owes her greatest good. And we would multiply them a hundredfold. But the native teachers, evangelists, ministers, who take up the mantle of the missionary and go forth as God's prophets to their own people, also serve, and with an efficiency greater than any Westerner can render. Africa can rise to her highest through cooperation of the black race and the white. True concord in this cooperation is produced by the recognition of this interdependence, and the removal of those despisings that made the state of the Corinthian church life so painful

to St. Paul. It is possible for the African to endure the white man, and for the white man to endure the African, as a necessary evil. But that is not cooperation.

"What a lovely land this would be if it were not for the niggers," said a foolish woman to me in Government House in one of our colonies. Yet every comfort that she had and that made her rejoice in the colony came through the African's service for her. That is the spirit which makes bitterness and which creates the menace of antagonism. For hate breeds hate, despisings rouse resentment, and the peace of life and its security fly out at the door. But Jesus said, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones." And to Philemon St. Paul wrote for his runaway slave, "Receive him not now as a servant, but above a servant, as a brother beloved."

Is this attitude of Christ and of the Christian missionary Paul too high for us? Is it not possible so to look upon the African?

EQUALITY

To say that all men are born equal is not true, if you interpret equality as attainment or even as capacity. The facts of life contradict it. In our own nation some are sickly or mentally deficient, others healthy and intellectually endowed. Even within the family, where there seems to be equality of opportunity, attainments in after-life vary greatly. But if we interpret the phrase to mean that all have equal right to

prepare for and to attain to the richest inheritance of humanity, that is Christian doctrine.

In St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, chapters ii and iii, you will find this great doctrine asserted on the highest plane, for St. Paul says that for Jew and Gentile, with the sharpest racial or creedal divisions, the wall of partition has been broken down by Christ and all have the right to God's most precious promises. "Ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints." Now if we grant that all races have a right to the highest, *i.e.*, "reconciliation unto God in one body," how is it that we deny any race the lesser inheritances of things material and political? Some say, "Because they are not ready for them." That answer implies that some day they may be ready, that there is no fixity of racial qualities and positions. If we could keep that idea before us, and on it take action in carrying out our trust for the backward races by making them ready, we should be nearer the Christian idea of equality.

Racial suppression is a modern attitude. It comes out of the fear that our own race has for the growing numbers and industry of the others, and it takes its stand on a theory of the inherent superiority of the white race, whose domination is necessary for the progress of the world. But is not the theory of a superior and pure white race a myth? In the past ages migration after migration has flowed into Europe from the East and racial stocks have been intermingled. Some authorities even trace a negroid strain in the

Mediterranean races and in the Nordic. There is no fixity in any race of mankind. In spirit and in blood for thousands of years we have been giving and receiving. I am part of all that I have met. And my race is mingled in some degree with the races with which it has come into contact.

No facts of life allow us to generalize about the capacity one race can display which is beyond the attainment of another. There are black men who have risen to heights in the arts, and in administrative powers, and, greatest of all, in character and spiritual attainment, which the average white man does not reach. The intelligence tests that have been taken in America reveal nothing on which a scientist could build so awful a theory as that the black child is incapable of learning what the white can learn. Every test has been conditioned by factors such as heredity, environment, and applicability to the life and thought of the child.

We are inclined to think that the standards of our white civilization are absolute; that we alone have the true measure of beauty and its forms of expression. Is the white skin more beautiful than the black? Darwin did not think so when he saw white sailors bathing alongside the Polynesian. The African does not think so. "They are like unbleached calico," cried the Abangoni warriors when they saw white men for the first time. So artistic a people as the Japanese think our large eyes and prominent noses lack beauty. The white man objects to the smell of the black man's body. But the black man finds that our flesh has an unpleasant

odor to him. Livingstone declared that antelopes recognize the scent of the white man more quickly and with greater antipathy than they do that of the black man. There is no room for scorn of the other races, nor for the assurance that we have the monopoly of all that is best.

Do we then hold that the African should be given "social equality" with the white? What looser phrase could we use? Who will define what social equality is? The South African, as a practical man, immediately says, "Will you encourage the intermarriage of white and black?" For as soon as you speak of social equality the bugbear of intermarriage arises. But I cannot think that this is really a question of practical politics at all. Men quote the example of Dr. van der Kemp, a white missionary who married a colored woman, or Mr. Soga, a cultured Kaffir missionary who married a white woman. And they say, "If we receive black men into our drawing-rooms and to sit at table with us, our daughters may marry them." But the pride of the black man in his own nationality, and the pride of the white woman in hers, and the painful position of the children, belonging as they do to neither race—these are the greatest obstacles to intermarriage. The difference in historical outlook and in social friendships makes a compatible marriage of this sort so rare a thing that only a very few ever take place.

The difference between West Africa and South Africa in social matters is very marked. An English lady once told me how at Government House in Nigeria she was

taken down to dinner by a native gentleman, black as coal, and his conversation on music and art was as rich as she had ever heard in England. In Professor Brooke's great book on *The History of Native Policy in South Africa,* a book with the most Christian and friendly intention to the natives, there is this passage:

"Another point to bear in mind is the arrangements which should be made in the case of distinguished visitors to a given center. To throw open a reception or garden party to natives would be unthinkable, except to a very select few. . . . What should be done, and too frequently is not done, is to provide a duplicate function, especially adapted to native needs and customs, for natives."

There is the color bar which runs in some towns through all social life. A black man may not walk on the pavement, may not buy stamps in the post-office at the same counter as the white man, may not travel in the same carriage in the train, may not use the same tram-car (or any car). At the station he must, however cultured, use the same waiting-room as the most verminous native. He may not worship in the same church as the white man. Culture opens no doors that color has closed. There are no rungs on the ladder which worth may use, for color has broken them all. When to these barriers there is added gross discourtesy, the daily manifestations of contempt for inferiority, where is our Christian faith in the sacredness of personality and in the right of every man to free development?

Now we may have different ideas of the destiny of the races and the best means through which they may attain to the highest, whether by identity or by differentiation, but the necessary condition for reaching the highest is that we follow the Christian sense of social equality, which abhors discourtesy and yields honor and dignity to other races. The creation of unnecessary irritants is the offence which so pained Jesus (*Matthew* 18:6).

We come to questions of industry and politics, and again the same key must be applied. It is a denial of the Christian doctrine of equality to refuse to a colored workman liberty to exercise his powers in the most intelligent labor. No form of injustice in order to prevent unequal competition, though it be legalized by the state, can bring protection to those who guard themselves by it. The white man who tries to save his own interests and those of his race by handicapping the progress of the black, must find that he has created danger and not safety. And in the end human worth and skill win the race even in commerce.

To politics also the same doctrine of equality applies. No one who knows Africa will for a moment concede that the black man in any of the colonies is yet fit to govern by himself. But we have introduced a new ferment among the people by bringing to them the life-giving gospel. With it comes the springing up of new manhood, and a new self-consciousness, with growing aspirations to express all the manifestations of fuller life and with growing powers to do so healthily. We

cannot keep a people forever in a state of tutelage, nor should we look with alarm on their growing desire for self-expression in helping to control their own government. We must recognize that they too have the right to manage their own affairs, and it is better to prepare a people to exercise the right, and willingly concede it when they are ready, than to have them force it from us with bitterness and resentment. What form the administrative development may take is another question, and one seriously to be considered. But the real end can only be reached in the recognition of the equal right of every citizen to the highest and freest development.

UNITY

The third basic principle which must be applied to the racial problem is essential unity of interest and aim. It is expressed by St. Paul in *Galatians* 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." In a glorious unity which is absorbed in its final expression in Jesus Christ, all humanity finds its destiny.

Our Lord's high-priestly prayer and St. Paul's constant reiteration of unity do not imply uniformity, but a spirit of unity in which the interests of each are the interests of all, and one great purpose of mutual service binds the different elements into concord. God made no mistake when he made one race black and another white, one man whose capacity fulfils itself in one direction and another in a different direction. The

wealth of this world is in the magnificent variety. The glory of a garden is not in the production of one species of fruit or flower but in the perfection of each variety. The greatest and most entrancing landscapes show combination of hill and dale, river and trees and sea. So is it in the New Jerusalem: "And they shall bring the glory and honor of the nations into it. And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie." The consummation for which we work is the purification of the nations, not their elimination; the preservation of Africa cleansed, exalted, sublimated, expressing in her own way her obedience to Christ.

Now there are many forces at work in Africa today. What is required to bring the people to their highest development is not a theocracy where missions control government and commerce, but a truer theocracy where the principles and service of Christ control every interest. It is a unity of purpose and ideal that makes true cooperation possible.

If a government holds that Africans can develop only along the line which will enrich the Europeans, while the missions educate the people to self-respect and the aspirations of awakened intelligence, there is no cooperation there, no matter how liberal educational grants may be. If a government engages as its most responsible and highly paid officers African teachers and educated lads who have been dismissed from mission employment for immoral conduct, saying that character does not matter so much as clerical ability, there is

no cooperation there, for lack of unity of standards.

We look for the day when trade and missions may help to regenerate Africa. But that cooperative service can only come as unity of ideal controls both. If commerce deals with liquor sold to natives, or withholds a just payment or price for goods, no friendliness between missionary and traders as fellow-Europeans makes for a cooperation which differing standards of equity have destroyed. The bitterness of the ordinary colonial to the missionary is not as great as it was. Each is coming to understand better the value that the one is to the other. But there is no true cooperation if the colonial accepts the natives as trained artisans and clerks and house servants, and takes no care for their moral welfare—if they are housed in unsuitable quarters, left to constant temptation, and given no example of religion in the home.

We believe that today the various forces in Africa are coming into a greater unity of purpose and therefore into truer cooperation of service. But the ideal will only be reached when government and commerce alike recognize that without the moral and spiritual forces which give life to all our acts there can be no progress. It is not a cry of Africa for the Africans, or of Africa for the Europeans, that will hew out the open way, but Africa for Christ, when Africa through Christ will find her fullest life.

Government and trade may not like to use the sacred name, but at least they must recognize that what Christ stands for in justice, equity, and charity,

they too must stand for. Missions also must recognize the essential unity of life. The evangelist has not fulfilled all his duty when he has won the faith of his convert to Christ. There follows a harder service, to lead the convert to express all the implications of the gospel in his personal and social life. The full expression of our faith would be the united Christianization of all life. The ideal of the Christian is in these words, "All Christ in everyone."

This principle of the unity of life and all its interests condemns the crude interpretations of the new catchword of South African politics, segregation. For some take the word as meaning the cutting off of all native life and development from that of the European. No matter how eagerly these might seek in this policy for a solution of native problems, today they cannot find it. For the interests of black and white are already so intertwined that one cannot do without the other. A healthier definition of segregation would be to give the African better opportunity to live his own life, and to develop along his own lines. This would mean setting him on sufficient land by himself, which would stimulate native industries. It would also mean giving him an education adapted to his needs, and allowing him to govern himself. It does not imply isolation, but opportunity for the freer development of an African culture. However much we try to isolate the lives of whites and blacks, we constantly come up against the fact of the identity of their interests. What blesses the natives blesses the Europeans. What hurts and

hinders the natives hurts and hinders the Europeans too.

So we come back to the key which we would apply to unlock all the intricate problems of Africa, and find it is Jesus Christ himself. He dared to stand and cry, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." No other prophet that has come to the world has ever assumed such a competence. But Christ did, and history has not proved him false. The world has grown big and intricate since those days in Palestine, but the Savior of the world has proved as great and all-sufficient as ever to meet the new situations. It is in him that men find those sources of life and action which make progress and amity possible. He came to give life, and to give it more abundantly.

For the depressed barbarian, for the aspiring African, for the pushful white man, there is but one law which makes for the blending of races and the forces that are in them, and that is the law of Jesus Christ. To burst the prison gates of magic, to steady surging ambitious life, to lay the firm foundations and build the walls of a true civilization, there is but one competent power, and that is the spirit of Jesus.

If you who have read this book believe in Jesus, and now know something of the service which must be given for Africa's regeneration, do not lay it down without saying, "What doth the Lord my God require of me?" And as he opens up to you the avenue of service through which you may best help, may he give you grace to be obedient to the heavenly vision.

READING LIST

Because of rapidly changing conditions in Africa since the World War, as a result of which otherwise valuable material has been outdated, the following list of books has been limited, with a few exceptions, to titles that have appeared within the last ten years. A few books now out of print have been included because of their importance for reference. Care has been taken to state prices current at the time the list was prepared, but these are subject to change. The books marked * are suggested as the nucleus of a small reference library for those groups that wish to purchase a limited number of books of moderate price.

GENERAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

* *Africa and Her Peoples.* F. Deaville Walker. Edinburgh House Press, London. 1924. Available through Missionary Education Movement, New York. 80 cents.

Africa in the Making. H. D. Hooper. United Council for Missionary Education, London. 1924. 2/–.

African Clearings. Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1924. $2.50.

African Saga, The. Blaise Cendrars. Payson & Clarke, New York. 1927. $5.00. A collection of mythology, folklore, chants and incantations.

Black Sheep: Adventures in West Africa. Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1917. $2.50.

Can Africa Be Won? W. J. W. Roome. Black, London. 1927. 7/6.

* *Golden Stool, The.* Edwin W. Smith. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y. 1928. $1.50.

In Wembo-Nyama's Land. Thomas E. Reeve. Lamar & Whitmore, Agents, Nashville, Tenn. 1921. $1.00.

Liberia—Old and New. James L. Sibley and D. Westermann. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y. 1928. $3.00.

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